Theoretical foundations of imperialism

By

Pargat Singh Muhar
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Approved:

Raymond L. Buell

Carl Sauer

David P. Barrows

Committee in Charge

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B. The complete displacement of national by international control over the remaining peoples, with the express declaration, that the interests of the natives form the chief and first concern of such a government.
C. The solution of the problem of Economic Imperialism by increasing international cooperation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sec. I. Increasing importance of the study of Ideas.

When Sir Henry Maine remarked that man has evolved from status to contract he pointed out probably the most important phase in the social evolution of mankind. Indeed, nothing distinguishes more clearly, the prehistoric ages of mankind from the modern times, than this power, which after centuries of blind groping, mankind has acquired over his surroundings, natural and social. It has been enabled more and more by its knowledge, to modify its surroundings and effect the evolution of its institutions in the most desirable way. The greatest of all tyrannies - the tyranny of nature - has been greatly softened by the increasing intellectual prowess of man. While in the past, human institutions grew up with little conscious effort on the part of man, he has come to wield a tremendous influence in their evolution, as times have passed. Viewing the same phenomenon from another angle, we may say, that while in the past, the tendency for theory was, to follow the institutions which it either justified or criticised, the present tendency, which is sure to increase in the future, is for theory to precede its corresponding institutions. Thus, the importance of the study of ideas of men as distinguished

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from their institutions is quite clear. An important writer[1] emphasizes the same point, when he lists the stages through which the study of history has passed as follows: 1. Date and fact history. 2. Heroic history. 3. Democratic history. 4. Naturalistic history. 5. History of ideals. To be sure, the present historians would take all of these factors in the study of history, but that, does nevertheless stress the importance of the study of ideals - the much ridiculed and neglected parts of our literature. However, there is much distrust in the minds of so-called "practical people" of the study of the theoretical foundations of our various branches of knowledge. These people little realize that much of the progress of applied science, which has been a powerful factor in the adoption of this attitude by them, has been due to what is termed as pure or "theoretical" science, without whose progress the former will collapse. This distrust of theory is much more prominent amongst the Anglo-Saxons, and especially among the English, than among other peoples. But sound theoretical foundations must be the only raison d'etre of our institutions, and our aim must always be to bring the two into harmony with one another. We will see in this brief study of Imperialism, how men's beliefs have increasingly influenced its evolution, and will thus afford one illustration of the truth of

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[1]Burns, C.D. Political Ideals, pp. 12-16.

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the theorem that we have laid down. We may say then with Mr. Woolf, that "in history there is no logic of facts, there is only a logic of men's beliefs and ideals."[2]

Sec. 2. Imperialism a great problem.

Imperialism is a problem which has arisen throughout history, when a stronger people has met a weaker[3] people. This problem was greatly intensified when first, as a result of the Commercial Revolution and later on, because of the Industrial Revolution, the peoples of the West came in a closer contact with the peoples of the East. Lord Bryce expresses the same thing when he says:

> "With this incomparably fuller and more exact knowledge of the two families of man there has come a far closer and more widespread contact of those various families with one another and in particular of the more advanced and civilized races, with the more backward, a contact so much closer and more widespread than ever in the past that it may be deemed to mark a crisis in the history of the world, which will profoundly affect the destiny of mankind." [4]

This crisis results, not only because of the effect of the policy of expansion on international relations and domestic politics, but also because of the thorny problems which arise from the contact of diverse civilizations. The problem assumes a great importance at the present time, because of the revolt

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[2] Empire and Commerce in Africa, p. 5.

[3] The word weaker is used in preference to "backward" because of its accuracy.

[4] The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind, pp. 6-7.

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of the weaker peoples against their strong masters. The Great War undoubtedly gave a great stimulus to this feeling, not only by divulging the real motives of the Great Powers in the conflict, but also by further popularizing the doctrines of self-determination and the rights of the oppressed peoples.

We may get some idea of the extent of the problem, if we remember that nearly one-half of the world's area now consists of colonies.[5] Or expressing the extent of the problem in another way, we may say, that

"Through colonies or the imperfect colonial form known as protectorate, European countries with a total population of 286,605,000 govern backward regions containing more than 550,200,000 people - containing nearly twenty times the area of the Colonizing Powers." [6]

In view of the importance of Imperialism, it is strange that no writer on political theory in the English language has given any adequate account of this phenomenon. Of late, however, imperialism has begun to attract some attention. One explanation of the neglect of Imperialism by writers on politics is, that until lately, the people responsible for it, never attempted to scrutinize its logical foundations.

Sec. 3. Definition of Imperialism.

In general, imperialism may be defined as the cult of terrotorial expansion followed by states. More specifically however, it may be defined as the policy of extending the domin-

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[5] U.S. Tariff Commission. Colonial Tariff Policies, p. 1.

[6] Ibid., p. 5.

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ion, orpolitical and economic influence, of a state, beyond the limits of self-coherent or at least potentially self-coherent nationality.[7] It should be noted however that genuine economic interests of the citizens of one state in another state do not constitute Imperialism. Imperialism is also used in another sense, to describe that movement in the British Empire, which attempts at the establishment of closer relations among its component parts, but we would not be concerned with this movement in this paper.

Imperialism may take several forms, the most obvious of which is the annexation of territory by a state. In its indirect form it exhibits itself in the acquiring of leaseholds, spheres of influence, spheres of interest, protectorates, semi-protectorates, financial control, tariff control, extra-territorial privileges and joint government over a weak state.[8]

Sec. 4. Connection with Colonization.

The term colony does not have a fixed meaning among writers on colonization, because, while some use it to designate only what are termed as "population colonies", others extend its meaning to include also what are called "exploitation colonies." Here we will use it in its latter or broader meaning, that is, indicating the idea of some kind of bond between it and the mother country, whether in the matter of language,

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[7] This is the definition of Imperialism given in the New International Encyclopedia, but slightly modified by the author.

[8] Buell, R.C. International Relations, pp. 442-465.

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race, religion, economic life or political allegiance. It will be seen from this, that the connection between colonization and imperialism is close, although the two are by no means identical. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this connection was very close, when England, for example, asserted political control over the American colonies, on the basis of their religious, racial and linguistic affinity. To a more or less extent, the same was the case with the Portuguese and Spanish in South America. A recent illustration of this connection was the Boer War, where England used the presence of her nationals in the Transvaal, as an indirect pretext of declaring war against the Boers, and annexing their territory at the conclusion of the war. It may be laid down as a universal principle, that it is the aim of Imperialist nations to plant different kinds of colonies in the territory of a weak state, so that at an important moment a pretext may be found, either to annex its territory outright, or establish some sort of indirect control. To show, however, that colonization and Imperialism are not identical, one may instance the recent immigration to the United States. For more European immigrants have come to the United States during the last fifty years than have gone to any other country, yet no nation seems to have any serious idea of ever establishing any political control over her.

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Sec. 5. Schools of Imperialism.

From the point of view of the persistence of Imperialism, there are three distinct schools.[9]

1. The Philosophical School.

This school is represented by Seyère who wrote three volumes on the subject, entitled "Philosophy of Imperialism." Here according to this school Imperialism is a phenomenon, which penetrates all forms of life and social currents, including even proletarian movements. In short, this school uses the word Imperialism as a synonym for the struggle for existence. This school is therefore essentially reactionary.

2. The Historical School.

According to this school Imperialism has existed at all stages of human development. It began from the moment human society was formed. It may or may not be eliminated in the future. To this category belong writers like Mr. Ferrero.

3. The Marxian School.

According to this school, Imperialism is the final stage in the evolution of capitalism. Consequently, it began only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the effects of the Industrial Revolution began to be felt extensively. The only way to abolish Imperialism is to abolish capitalism. According to Lenine, concentration of production

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[9]Pavlovitch, M. Foundations of Imperialist Policy, Lec. 1-vi.

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and capital, fusion of bank capital with industrial capital, export of capital, formation of international monopolistic associations of capitalists, and territorial partition of the earth amongst the biggest capitalistic powers are the marks of Imperialism.[10] This school is represented by socialistic writers.

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[10] Pavlovitch, M. Foundations of Imperialist Policy, Lec. VI.

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PART I. HISTORY OF IMPERIALISM

Chap. II. Ancient Imperialism

Sec. I. Oriental Imperialism.

"It is still doubtful whether we are to consider Mesopotamia or Egypt the earlier scene of the two parallel beginnings of settled communities living in towns. By 4,000 B.C., in both these regions of the earth such communities existed and had been going on for a considerable time." [1]

It was in these two regions, therefore, that empires first arose. "The first of all known empires," says Mr. Wells, "was that founded by the high priest of the god of the Sumerian city of Erech. It reached says an inscription at Nippur from the Lower (Persian Gulf) to the Upper (Mediterranean or Red Sea) Sea." [2] This Sumerian Empire was then conquered by the Semitic Tribes under the leadership of Sargon (2,750 B.C.) who thus founded the Sumerian-Akhadian Empire, which extended from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean and which lasted for over two hundred years, when another Semitic tribe under the leadership of a great king, Hammurabi (2100 B.C.) founded the first Babylonian Empire on its ruins.[3] Under Hammurabi the Semites became masters of all Mesopotamia.[4]

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[1] Wells, H.G. Outline of History, p. 131. Mr. Wells thinks that Mesopotamian civilization is older than Egyptian.

[2] Ibid. p. 137. Opinions on this point differ. See the paragraph that follows, which deals with Egyptian Imperialism.

[3] Wells, H.G. op. cit., p. 136.

[4] Ibid. p. 136.

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Hammurabi codified the laws of Babylon and his code is the oldest on earth. Meanwhile, another Semitic people had settled around the cities of Assur and Nineveh, and they later founded what is called the Assyrian Empire. It was about 1900 B.C. that Assyria began as an independent monarchy. For almost until the end of their existence, these two states, the Rome and Greece of the East, struggled with varying fortunes for the supremacy of the Near East. For the last time, they were united in 606 B.C. into the Chaldean or the Second Babylonian Empire, which under the successors of Nebuchadnezzar the Great lasted until 539 B.C. when it collapsed before the attacks of Cyrus. Although Babylon was far more cultured and civilized than Assyria, the latter developed a more efficient and scientific administrative and military system.[5]

The same process of expansion is to be seen in the early history of Egypt. According to Mr. Tucker, since empire is a matter of transportation, and as the river Nile is the greatest and easiest of highways, the first empire rose in Egypt.[6] The process of consolidation went on in Egypt until the forty-two states of prehistoric times were consolidated into the kingdoms of Delta and Upper Egypt. The first his-

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[5]Tucker, I.J. History of Imperialism, p. 61.

[6]Ibid, p. 7.

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torical reign in Egypt was that of King Menes (around 5600 B.C.) who first united Egypt.[7] Egypt first began to extend her frontiers toward the West and South until Amasis I inaugurated the period of conquest in Asia and conquered Palestine and Phoenicia. Thothmes III who came to power in 1500 B.C. was the greatest conquerer among the Pharaohs. In sixteen campaigns he conquered Phoenicia and Syria, as far as the Lower Orontes, and penetrated victoriously as far as northern Mesopotamia.[8] According to Professor Breastead he built the first real empire. Says Prof. Breastead:

"Never before in history had a single brain wielded the resources of so great a nation and brought them into such centralized, permanent and at the same time mobile efficiency, that for years they could be brought to bear with incessant impact upon another continent as a skilled artisan manipulates a hundred-ton forge hammer; although the figure is inadequate unless we remember that Thothmes forged his own hammer." 9

Then followed a triangular conflict between Egypt, Babylon and Assyria, which ultimately ruined three and brought them under the rising power of Persia. The days of Egyptian independence were gone, from the time she became a Persian Province in 525 B.C. Her later foreign masters who after the Persians have ruled her in almost continuous succession, have been the Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks and finally the British.

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[7] Tucker, I.J. op. cit. p. 16.

[8] New International Encyclopedia, Article on Egypt.

[9] Breastead, J.H. A History of Egypt.

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Never afterwards did the native talent of the Egyptians shine with such brightness as it had done under some of her native rulers as for example that of the XVIII Dynasty. It may be interesting to observe in this connection, that the earliest voyage around the Cape of Good Hope was done around 606 B.C., by the Egyptians.[10] The Egyptians also built a canal joining the Red Sea with the Mediterranean.[11]

The next people to develop a great empire were the ancient Persians. In 550 B.C. Cyrus ascended the throne of Cyaxares (Persia) and within a few years the empire embraced the whole of Asia Minor. Under Darius, the successor of Cyrus, the empire reached its greatest extent. Says Mr. Wells:[12]

"The empire of Darius I was larger than any one of the preceding empires whose growth we have traced. It included all Asia Minor and Syria, Egypt, the Caucus and Caspian regions, Medea, Persia, and it extended, perhaps, into India to the Indus.....The organization of this great empire seems to have been on a much higher level of efficiency than any of its precursors. Great arterial roads joined province to province, and there was a system of royal posts.....Apart from this imperial right-of-way and the payment of tribute, the local governments possessed a very considerable amount of local freedom."

The wars of Xerxes with the Greeks weakened the empire which definitely entered upon its period of decay on his murder in 465 B.C. In 331 B.C. at the battle of Arbela Persia was given a decisive defeat and thereafter the Greeks ruled

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[10] Morris, H.C. History of Colonization, Vol. 1, p. 37.

[11] Ibid, p. 36.

[12] Outline of History, pp. 274-275.

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Persia for about three centuries when the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids drove them out of Persia. In 227 A.D. was founded the Sassanid Empire - the last great remnant of the political genius of the ancient Persians. The Empire lasted for over four centuries, during which it was almost constantly at war with the Eastern Roman Empire.[13] The empire was finally overthrown by the Arabs in the seventh century.

In India, another Aryan people were carrying on the same process of consolidation. Chandragupta Maurya, who founded the Mauryan Empire in 321 B.C., which lasted until 232 B.C., was the first Emperor of India. However, Asoka, the Constantine of Buddhism was the greatest representative of this dynasty. Regarding Asoka, Mr. Wells says: [14]

"For eight and twenty years, Asoka worked sanely for the real needs of men.....More men cherish his memory today, than have ever heard the name of Constantine and Charlemagne."

Asoka's empire was greater in extent than the Roman empire at its zenith. With regard to the organization of the Maurya empire Mr. Vincent Smith, a prominent English historian says:

"Without going further into detail, it may be asserted with confidence that in the Maurya Age, every department of state was well organized, according to ancient standards and that the Indian system of government, three centuries before the Christian era, was equal if not superior to Akbar in the

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[13] Wells, H.G. op. cit. p. 536.

[14] Ibid, p. 371.

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sixteenth century." [15] About Akbar the same writer says: That great monarch can well bear comparison as a statesman of the first rank with his contemporaries, Henry IV of France and Elizabeth of England." 16

Another great empire in ancient India, the Gupta Empire, lasted from 320 A.D.-480 A.D. This was the Golden Age of India. Of this period, Fa-hien, a famous Chinese traveler says that the Gupta penal code was mild, the death penalty being unknown. He especially delights in the personal liberty permitted by the government and in the absence of vexatious restrictions. There were free hospitals and the country enjoyed peace.[17] However, hospitals for human beings and animals were also to be found during Asoka's rule.[18] Regarding the much-exploited despotism of the Indian rulers, we may quote a prominent Englishman, who has spent the greater part of his life in India and is probably the greatest living writer on the question of Indian art.

"Oriental despotism is one of those historical fallacies upon which British administrators of India are nurtured. Of despotism like that of Imperial Rome or of the Greek Tyrants there are very few instances in Indian history either before Mohammadan times or after." 19

As a matter of fact, there were two things that most impressed Magasthanese (Greek ambassador at the hourt of Chandragupta Maurya) in what he learnt of Indian politics; one was

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[15] Statesmen of Ancient India, p. 4.

[16] Ibid, p. 1.

[17] Ibid, p. 4.

[18] Smith, Vincent. Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India, p. 66.

[19] Havelli, E.B. Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India; Introduction.

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that "it was a great thing in India that all Indians were free" and the other was that the power of the Indian kings was restrained by the "Five Great Assemblies" of the people. "India," says Mr. Havelli, "down to the time of Aurangzele (end of 17th C.) probably enjoyed as much political liberty as any European community before the eighteenth century."[20]

The first Mongolian people to develop the Imperial Idea were the Chinese. The Shang (1750-1125 B.C.) and Chow (1125-250 B.C.) Dynasties established religious unity of China, comparable to the European unity during the Middle Ages, accomplished by the popes. However, the first real Emperor of China was She Hwang-ti of the Ts'in Dynasty. Says Mr. Wells:

"He became king of Ch'in in 246 B.C. and emperor in 220 B.C., and he reigned until 210 B.C., and during this third of a century he effected much the same work of consolidation that Augustus Caesar carried out in Rome two centuries later." 21

From 206 B.C.-220 A.D. for more than four centuries the two Han Dynasties maintained the unity of most of what is known as China proper. Regarding this dynasty Mr. Wells says:[22]

"While the Roman world was still blind to the need of any universal mental organization, the Han emperors were setting up a uniform system of education and of literary degrees throughout China, that has maintained the intellectual solidarity of that great and always expanding country into modern times."

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[20] Havelli, E.B. Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India; Introduction.

[21] Wells, H.G. Outline of History, p. 470.

[22] Ibid, p. 472.

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After the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 A.D. up to the beginning of the Tang dynasty (619 A.D.), China plunged into political chaos, although the social collapse here was never as great as that caused in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire.[23]

Sec. 2. European Imperialism.

Although imperialism was against the national genius of the Greeks, the passion of ruling, inherent in human beings, proved too strong for some of them. Sparta, Athens and Macedon were the three imperialist states of Greece.[24] However, Macedon was the only one which built up a real empire. The true forerunner of Greek Imperialism was Isocrates, the exponent of Pan-Hellenism, who may truly be called the Kipling of the Greeks.[25] Another great Imperialist of Greece was Alexander the Great himself. His plans for conquest however, were in opposition to Aristotelian views, according to which, a small aristocratic and autonomous state was the ideal one.[26] At the young age of thirty-three, Alexander's empire included not only the whole of what was formerly the Persian Empire under Darius I but the whole of Macedonia and Greece, Thrace, and a considerable part of the Punjab. After the death of

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[23] Wells, H.G. Outline of History, p. 551.

[24] Ferguson, W.S. Greek Imperialism, p. 6.

[25] See Marvin, W.R. Western Races and the World, p. 56.

[26] New International Encyclopedia. Article on Aristotle.

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Alexander in 323 B.C. however, his empire collapsed. Persia and part of Asia Minor fell to Seleucus, Macedonia to Antigones and Egypt to Ptolemy. The Macedonian Empire soon collapsed, while the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires continued for some time, until they were conquered by the Romans and Parthians respectively. Alexandria under the Ptolemies became the center of culture and knowledge of the Western World. Regarding the administrative machinery of the Greeks Mr. Botsford says:[27]

> "The most illuminating fact that has come to me in recent years is, that the Imperial (Roman) organization and administration were inherited more from the Hellenistic kingdoms than from the Republic."

With the independence and political supremacy of the Greeks gone, their intellectual supremacy went along with it. Whether there was any causal connection between the two and in what way, is difficult to tell.

The Roman Empire is another instance of Imperialism in antiquity. It differed from all other previous empires in the fact that it was not the creation of any autocrat but was the work of a Republic. In this, it resembled most of the empires of today. Rome was probably founded in 753 B.C.[26] At first there were perhaps Latin kings in Rome, then the city probably

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[27] Am. Hist. Rev. July, 1915.

[26] Wells, H.G. op. cit. p. 363.

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fell into the hands of the more civilized and better organized Etruscans, who were finally expelled in the sixth century B.C.[29] In 390 B.C. the Gauls sacked Rome, and because of this invasion the Romans were able to destroy the Etruscans - the dominant power in Italy. By gradual conquests Rome united the Italian peninsula by 265 B.C. and became one of the world powers. After the unification, began that foreign territorial expansion which in history has almost always accompanied the unification of great states. During the period between 264 B.C.-146 B.C., were fought three Punic wars, and Rome's greatest rival, Carthage, was razed to the ground. Roman dominion continued to engulf the neighboring states until at the death of Caesar in 44 B.C. it embraced Spain, Gaul, Italy, Dalmatia, the Balkans, Asia Minor, Egypt and Numidia. Under Augustus also it continued to expand. It was under him that the long strained Republican regime was abolished and the Principate established. Augustus' was the Golden Age of the Roman Empire. Virgil, the Kipling of the Roman Empire wrote the Aeneid, a national epic, which was a glorification of Rome and of the Julian line. Virgil talked of Rome's burden in much the same way as Kipling talks of the White Man's Burden. Said Virgil:[30]

"Remember, Romans, that your mission consists in dominating other nations with firm hands. May it fall to your

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[29] Wells, H.G. op. cit. pp. 363-384.

[30] Pavlovitch, M. op. cit., p. 25.

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lot to establish peace everywhere, to be merciful to the humble, to destroy the proud."

At the death of Trajan in 117 A.D., the Empire attained its maximum extent, when for its northern frontier it had the Danube, Rhine for its eastern frontier; while in Africa, it had conquered the whole of the northern coast. In Asia, in included Asia Minor, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Syria. Bryce has estimated that the population of the Roman Empire at this time was one hundred millions spread over two and one-half million square miles of territory.[31] In 212 A.D. was extended Roman citizenship to all the provincials, except those who were in a condition of vassalage.[32] Diocletian (285-305), Constantine the Great (306-337) and Theodosias the Great (378 A.D.-395 A.D.) were some of the most able rulers of later Rome. However, the empire was fast approaching its end and it finally ended in 476 A.D. when the settled Germanic soldiers and barbarians acquired full control of the Western Empire.[33]

Probably the most signal contribution of the Roman Empire was its legal system. Its action in establishing peace, its administrative system and its "civilizing" work,

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[31] Studies in History and Jurisprudence, V. 1, p. 17.

[32] Boak, A.E.R. A History of Rome to 565 A.D. p. 255.

[33] Ibid., p. 361.

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however, are much exaggerated. Says Mr. Wells:[34]

"Western writers are apt, through their patriotic dispositions, to overestimate the organization, civilizing work, and security of the absolute monarchy that established itself in Rome after the accession of Augustus Caesar.....Compared with the quiet, steady expansion, the security, and the civiliz- task of the contemporary Chinese Empire, or with Egypt between 4000 and 1000 B.C. or with Sumeria before the Semitic conquest, this amounts to a mere incident in history. The Persian Empire of Cyrus again, which reached from the Hellespont to the Indus, had as high a standard of civilization, and its homelands remained unconquered and fairly prosperous for over two hundred years.....The reputation of Rome has flourished through the prosperity of her heirs. The tradition of Rome is greater than its reality."

As regards the wealth extracted from the provinces and the benefits the provincials derived from it, we may quote three prominent authorities. Says Mr. Botsford:[35]

"Little of the wealth extracted from the subject countries ever returned by way of imperial improvements. The benefits of protection and peace were largely counterbalanced by the desolating civil wars which raged for many years of the later Republic over the greater part of the Empire."

Mr. Ferrero, a great historian of Rome says:[36]

"We must abandon one of the most general and most widespread misconceptions, which teaches that Rome administered her provinces in a broad-minded spirit, consulting the general interests and adopting wide and beneficent principles of government for the good of the subjects."

Lord Cromer himself admits that "The Romans exacted heavy tributes from their dependencies."[37] Before leaving this

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[34] Outline of History, pp. 451-452.

[35] Botsford, G.W. Roman Imperialism in Am. Hist. Rev. Jl. 1915.

[36] Quoted in Cromer, Modern and Ancient Imperialism, p. 50.

[37] Ibid. p. 41.

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subject we may note a very significant fact and that is, that after the collapse of the Roman Empire, never did the descendants of the same Romans whose exhibition of political ability has so much struck the bards of modern Imperialism, ever exhibit their political trait to any appreciable extent.

Sec. 3. Characteristics of Ancient Imperialism.

The following may be noted as the chief characteristics of Ancient Imperialism.

1. The most important motivating forces of ancient imperialism were the sentimental factors.

2. Strategical reasons played some part especially in the case of Rome.[38]

3. Ideological reasons played no part at all.

4. The economic motives of Imperialism played very little part.

5. Imperialism exhibited itself in its direct form and very seldom in its indirect forms which were still in their crude state at that time.

6. On account of the absence of color prejudice (except in the case of the Romans)[39] and the comparatively simple civilization of ancient times, ancient Imperialism succeeded in assimilating subject peoples to a marked extent.

7. Ancient Imperialists with a brief exception of Rome

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[38] Cromer, Earl of, op. cit. p. 31.

[39] Marvin, W.R., Western Races and the World, p. 91.

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were autocrats at home as well as in their provinces.

6. The existence of slavery in the ancient world, especially in the west, and limitation of citizenship in other instances, gave Imperialism a distinct class color.

9. Ancient Imperialism was the work not of a single empire as some of the writers have tried to show,[40] but of several empires, as our brief sketch might have shown. However, if we take into account the western world only the contention is correct.

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[40] Cromer for instance; see Cromer, Earl of. op. cit. p. 114.

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Chapter III.

Medieval Imperialism

Sec. I. Effect of Monotheistic Religions.

A new factor, though present in the ancient world since the introduction of Christianity, now began to exert a powerful influence on human relations. This was the introduction and propagation of monotheistic religions. Now, unlike the polytheistic religions of old, the monotheistic religions from their very nature were exclusive, hence, intolerant, and consequently, developed strong propagating activities.[1] Religion, unlike the later development of law, developed from a territorial to a personal basis. The effect of all this on the history of Imperialism was, that probably, for the first time in history, Imperialism began to have ideological reasons for its existence. The method of spreading religion however, was most frequently the sword. The desire of spreading their respective faiths, fired the enthusiasm of the followers of Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Islam. This desire especially exhibited itself most strongly in the case of the Mohammadans, as it later did in the case of the Iberian peoples in early modern times.

Sec. 2. Oriental Imperialism.

In China, the Mongolian race attained its greatest im-

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[1]Buddhism however already was a great missionary religion.

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perial glory. After the "Three Kingdom Period" (220 A.D.-619 A.D.) the Tang Dynasty established itself in China and continued to rule there until 960 A.D., when it was overthrown by the Sung Dynasty. The Chinese Empire attained its greatest extent under the Tang Dynasty, when on the East it practically embraced the whole of modern China, while on the West it touched the Caspian Sea, and the border of the Persian Empire. This was the great age of China when her civilization attained its greatest height. Says Mr. Wells:[2]

"Under the Tang rule, her greatest period and then again under the artistic but rather decadent Sung dynasty (960 A.D.-1279 A.D.) and again during the period of the cultured Mings 1358 A.D.-1644 A.D.) China presented a spectacle of prosperity, happiness and artistic activity far in front of any contemporary state."

The greatest representatives of Medieval Imperialism however, were the Mohammadans. The Prophet Mohammed who was born in 570 A.D. had by the time of his death which occurred in 634 A.D. united the whole of Arabia with the exception of Syria and Mesopotamia. Under the genius of Caliphs Abu Bekr (632 A.D.-634 A.D.) and Omar 634 A.D. - 643 A.D.) - the real founders of Islam - the Arab Empire extended rapidly. By military campaigns that were "among the most brilliant in the world's history,"[3] Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia were acquired. By the end of 750 A.D., the Arab Empire had extended to Turkestan and

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[2]Wells, H.G. op. cit. p. 555.

[3]Ibid. p. 584.

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Indus in the East, Caucus and Taurus Mountains in the North and through the whole of North African Coast extended beyond the Pyrenees in the West, where it had been checked by Charles Martel in 732 A.D. Two hundred years after the death of Haroun-al-Raschid (809 A.D.), the Seljick Turks, who were orthodox Sunnite Mohammedans, conquered this Arab Empire which had become by now mostly Shitees.[4] They further extended the Moslem territory at the expense of the Eastern Roman Empire until they themselves were displaced by the Ottoman Turks in the Thirteenth Century. The Ottoman Empire reached the greatest height under Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566) when its European territory included the whole of the Balkans and Hungary. The Empire after this continued to decay, until it was abolished in 1923 by the Turkish nationalists. In India also, the Mohammedans conquered vast territories. The period from 1193 A.D.-1761 A.D. is known in Indian history as the Mohammedan period. During this period, they founded the Mogul Empire which really lasted from 1526 A.D.-1761 A.D. The greatest Mogul Emperor was undoubtedly Akbar, about whom Mr. Wells writes:[5] "He is one of the hinges of history." He says further,[6] "He knew less, and he did more for India in these (educational) matters than the British who succeeded him."

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[4]One of the two main sects of Mohammedans.

[5]Outline of History, p. 693.

[6]Ibid., p. 697.

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Another great Oriental people, who founded a great Empire were the Mongols. Genghis Khan was the founder of this empire. At his death in 1227 A.D. the empire included the whole of Northern China, Central Asia, Persia, Southern Russia and extended up to the Black Sea.[7] By 1240, almost the whole of Russia, Southern China, Bagdad, Syria, Sind, Poland and Hungary were brought under the Mongol sway. Although loose in organization, it was the greatest empire in area that had ever been formed up to that time. After the death of Kublai Khan in 1294, the empire decayed fast, until it was thrown down in 1368 A.D. in China, by the Ming Dynasty. The one great controbution of the Mongols under Genghis was the establishment of religious toleration across the entire breadth of Asia.[6]

Sec. 3. European Imperialism.

During the Middle Ages, the ideal of universal empire persisted in Europe, although the actual conditions were the opposite of such an ideal. Writers like St. Thomas Acquinas, St. Augustine and Dante looked to the establishment of a dual authority in such an empire; one temporal and the other spiritual, and each independent of the other. In 800 Charlemagne founded the Holy Roman Empire. But as Lord Bryce has pointed

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[7]Outline of History, p. 671.

[6]Wells, H.G. op. cit., p. 672.

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out, this "empire" was neither holy nor Roman. This Holy Roman Empire continued until Napoleon abolished it in 1806. Under Charlemagne and Otto the Great, the empire was very powerful. At the death of Charlemagne in 814 A.D. his kingdom embraced the whole of what is now known as France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, a large part of Germany and Austria and a considerable part of Italy.[9] As regards the motivating forces of the conquests of those days, Mr. Wells says:[10]

"Both in England and on the Continent the ascendant rulers seized upon Christianity as a unifying force to cement their conquests. Christianity became a banner for aggressive chiefs - as it did in Uganda in Africa in the bloody days before that country was annexed to the British Empire.....He (Charlemagne) made his wars of aggression definitely religious wars.....Whole nations were converted to Christianity by the sword just as Islam in Arabia, Central Asia and Africa had converted whole nations a century or so before."

The legislation of Charlemagne was colored by the same religious motive, and to refuse baptism or to retract after baptism were crimes punishable by death.[11] After the death of Charlemagne his empire split up into two main constituents, one into what is now known as France and the other into what is known now as Austria and Germany.

A real emperor in the West again appeared in 962 A.D. in the name of Otto the Great. His empire embraced what is now known as Central Europe and Northern Italy.[12]

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[9] Wells, H.G. op. cit., p. 620.

[10] Ibid, p. 616.

[11] Ibid. p. 625.

[12] Ibid, p. 633.

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Another Imperial remnant in Europe was the Eastern Roman Empire. The Empire continued to dwindle before the rising power of Islam, until it fell completely in 1453 A.D. when Suleiman the Magnificent captured Comstantinople.

Sec. 4. Characteristics of Medieval Imperialism.

1. The most important motivating force of Medieval Imperialism was the desire to spread the monotheistic faiths that had sprung up and become very strong during this period.

2. The most important imperialist nations were Oriental.

3. Economic motives, as in ancient imperialism, did not play any appreciable part.

4. Like ancient Imperialism, it was mainly the work of rulers who were autocrats at home.

5. Similarly, like Ancient Imperialism, it mostly exhibited itself in its direct form and very seldom indirect.

6. Medieval Imperialists succeeded far less than the ancients in assimilating the peoples that they brought under their sway.[13]

7. In Europe it was still the era of single empires.

8. Although sentimental motives undoubtedly played some part, strategical motives exerted slight influence.

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[13]Mohammedans for example did not mix with non-Mohammedans.

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Chapter IV.

Modern Imperialism

Sec. 4. Periods in Modern Imperialism.

For purposes of convenience we may divide the modern period of Imperialism into four parts. The first we may roughly fix from 1500 A.D.-1763 A.D. This period was characterized by the philosophy of mercantilism and hence, intense colonial rivalry among the Great Powers. The second period extends from 1763-1870. This period was characterized by the dominance of the philosophy of laissez faire and hence, separatist tendencies towards the colonies. The third period which we may date from 1870-1919, saw the revival of Imperialism. The fourth, inaugurated in 1919 by the adoption of the covenant of the League of Nations, introduced the Mandates System, and set up a permanent machinery - however crude and imperfect - to enforce the provision of the different mandates.

Sec. 5. The First Period. 1500-1763.

With the occupation of the old trade routes by the Ottoman Turks, the Europeans began to search for the sea-routes to the East. In 1492 Columbus discovered America and in 1498 Vasco da Gama discovered a sea route to India. The first circumnavigation of the world was done by Magellan between 1519 and 1522. The discovery of these sea-routes gave a tremendous stimulus to trade and commerce and brought the component parts

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of the earth, especially America, Europe and Asia, in closer touch with each other. It is this Commercial Revolution that has generally been taken to mark the end of the medieval period and the beginning of the modern. Undoubtedly the greatest effect of the Commercial Revolution was to start the colonizing movements.[1] Without the discovery of the sea-routes, the exploration and later settlement of the American continents would have been impossible. In a way, the rise of the dominant economic philosophy of the period - mercantilism - was due to this Revolution; because as a result of this the economic power passed from the German and Italian cities to the Atlantic states in which the national feeling had already been developed; and the synthesis of nationalism and the general restrictive philosophy of the period resulted in mercantilism. With the increase of wealth, knowledge and the power of the Bourgeosie, economic motive of Imperialism became stronger than ever. In the later part of the modern era, this motive became the dominant factor in Imperialism.

Sec. 6. Mercantilism.

Mercantilistic doctrines dominated Europe from the sixteenth to the latter part of the eighteenth century.[2] The main aim of the mercantilist philosophers was to increase the power

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[1]Hayes, C.J.H. A Political and Social History of Modern Europe; Vol. I, p. 62.

[2]Haney, L.H. History of Economic Thought. p. 57.

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and prosperity of their respective nations. For this purpose they adopted a strictly restrictive policy, with a view to increase foreign commerce, secure favorable balance of trade, the largest possible amounts of the precious metals and finally to increase their national populations. Now, the best way to secure precious metals and favorable balance of trade, was to secure colonies. Statesmen like Colbert, Cromwell and Frederick the Great vigorously prosecuted mercantilist policies. With the coming of the Industrial Revolution in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the successful revolt of the American colonies, statesmen abandoned the mercantilist doctrines.

Sec. 7. Chief Imperialist Powers.

The first great modern colonisers were the Iberian peoples. The sixteenth century was their century. To eliminate friction between them, arising out of colonial rivalry, the Pope issued in 1493, the famous bull, attempting to divide the uncivilized parts of the world between them, by the papal line of demarcation drawn from pole to pole, 100 leagues west of the Azores. A year later the line was shifted to about 360 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. To the east of this line, the territory belonged to Portugal and to the west it belonged to Spain. In the Seventeenth Century however, appeared new rivals. The Dutch took several valuable parts of the Portuguese Empire, notably the Spice Islands. In North America, France and England claimed vast territories. Here,

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while France claimed the whole of Canada, and a considerable part of what is now known as the United States, English colonies were confined to the Atlantic coast. Spain claimed Mexico, California, Central America, and South America, with the exception of Brazil, which belonged to Portugal. In the eighteenth century, bitter colonial struggle took place between England and France, from which the former emerged victorious. By the end of 1763 therefore, England had gained a secure foothold in India, had gained the North American Colonial domain of France. By the Treaty of Paris in 1763 however, England lost her thirteen American colonies which had revolted in 1776. Under the ambitious foreign policies of Peter the Great and Catherine Russian territory had continued to expand, at the expense of Sweden, Poland and Turkey. However it may be noted that Peter the Great was the founder of Russian Imperialism and his will later became the Bible of the Russian Statesmen. In his will he gave them the following advice:[3]

1. We must primarily seek the alliance of England for commerce.

2. We must advance as much as possible towards Constantinople and India. Whoever shall reign there would be the true master of the world. Therefore, we must fan continental wars for the purpose.

3. We must hasten the downfall of Persia and acquire

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3. Orth, P.S. The Imperial Impulse, p. 117.

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Black and Baltic Seas. Russian eastward expansion had also progressed considerably. The most notable colonial achievement of this period, however, was the occupation of the American continent by the European powers.

Sec. 5. Second Period. 1763-1870.

During this period occurred the Industrial Revolution, which probably is the greatest revolution that has ever occurred in human history. In Great Britain, where it first occurred, it approximately took place between 1770 and 1825.[4] The two basic elements of the Industrial Revolution were (1) the invention and application of machines and engines to facilitate mining, manufacturing, agriculture and transportation; (2) the building of factories.[5] The Napoleonic Wars no doubt retarded its spread upon the European continent, where its full effects were not felt until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. We may group the chief effects of the Industrial Revolution under the heads of Economic, Political and Social. Its economic effects were the vast increase of industrial output, and trade and commerce, and hence the amount of wealth of the world. Its immediate political effects were the spread of democracy and the further growth of the power of the bourgeosie. Its ultimate effect was the new scramble for colonies which assumed extraordinary

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[4] Hayes, C.J.H. op. cit., V. 2, ed. 1924, p. 65.

[5] Ibid, p. 67-68.

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proportions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Its social effects were the enormous increase of the world's population, especially that of Europe, great increase of the differences in wealth and the consequent growth of social unrest.

Partly as a result of the Industrial Revolution, and partly because of the excessive restrictive policy of the mercantilistic period, there grew up the philosophy of the physiocrats. In opposition to the mercantilists they advocated the policy of laissez faire on the part of states. The belief was prevalent, that there was the most complete harmony between the interests of individuals and that of society and that an unseen hand was guiding human society to perfection. The best thing for states to do therefore, was to let this "unseen hand" work out our salvation without any outside interference. We may stop to point out here that the belief in laissez faire was the logical outcome of the dominant philosophy of the eighteenth century - idealism - an instance of how men's beliefs have affected their actions. The physiocrats gained their chief strength in France, where Quesnay, Gournay and Turgot came to wield tremendous influence. As against the mercantilists who stressed the importance of commerce, the physiocrats emphasized the value of land. In England the physiocratic philosophy took a different form, where the stress upon the value of land took the form of the demand for freeing commerce and industry from all

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vexatious restrictions. Adam Smith and his school represented this line of development.

The effect of the prevalent philosophy of laissez faire and the French revolution, coupled with that of the separation of the thirteen American colonies from England in 1763 and the later separation of Portuguese and Spanish colonies in America, was that there grew up in Europe an anti-imperialist policy. Statesmen not only began to view with complacency the future separation of their colonies from their respective countries, but some actually advocated such a policy. Turgot's saying that colonies are like fruits which drop off from the mother country the moment they are ripe, seemed to be in fair fulfillment at this time. In England, we may say that on the whole, the early free traders, the Utilitarians and the early philosophical radicals who were not associated with the colonial reform movement had separatist tendencies. Adam Smith, Josiah Tucker, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, Joseph Hume and the English press including the London Times, which now is a bulwark of Imperialism in England, all advocated separation of the colonies.[6] That Gladstone had such tendencies is no wonder, but even such men as Disraeli in his earlier years thought that separation was not a matter for regret.[7] In contrast to the anti-colonial attitude of English statesmen at home, we may

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[6] Bodelsen, C.A, Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism, p. 14-15.

[7] Ibid. p. 45-46.

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note the remarkable expansion of the Empire at the independent initiative of the officers stationed in her various parts. We have already noted that England had secured a strong foothold in India in 1757. However, it was during this period that the conquest of that country was completed.[5] It was also during this period that the British acquired the Cape Colony and also founded Singapore. French statesmen, above that of the statesmen of any other nation continued the policy of active expansion. This was probably due to the fact that France had almost lost the whole of her wonderful colonial empire during the Napoleonic Wars and she wanted to make up the loss. It was during this period that she acquired Algeria, Cochin China and Senegal. The great powers during this period were England, Holland, Spain, Portugal and France.

Sec. 6. Third Period. 1870-1919.

In this period, there took place a revival of Imperialism. So important is this period from the point of view of Imperialism, that some writers, especially the socialistic ones, date its beginnings from this. It was during this period that the scramble for the colonies assumed its greatest proportions, until it involved Europe in the catastrophe of the Great War. Furthermore, it was during this period that the whole of Africa, with the doubtful exception of Abyssinia and Liberia, was brought under European sway. European in-

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[5] With the exception of Burma.

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influence also spread in the Near East, Far East, Middle East, while some territories in Asia were actually conquered by the European powers. The general causes of the revival of Imperialism were as follows:

1. The Triumph of Nationalism.

The nineteenth century saw the wave of nationalism sweeping Europe, as the twentieth century is witnessing the same wave sweep over the Orient, and to a slight extent over Africa. It was during this period that the unifications of Germany and Italy were accomplished by Bismarck and Cavour respectively. With national unification there arose a demand for national expansion, that we have seen happening so often in the history of the world.

2. Along with nationalism came democracy. With the increasing participation by the masses in the respective governments of their countries, the glory of the state became <u>their</u> glory and consequently, they vehemently supported the expansionist claims of their governments.

The lesson, that the belief in the anti-expansionist attitude of the masses is a mere illusion, which was first taught by the Roman Republic, was now hammered into the minds of the thoughtful people. Conquest was as much the besetting sin of an Alexander, Caesar or a Napoleon as it has been of modern democracies.

3. The Industrial Revolution undoubtedly gave a great stimulus to this new Imperialism. The desire for markets, raw materials,

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places of profitable investment and the securing of outlets for surplus population at home, undoubtedly played a great part. The gradual revival of protection in the latter part of the nineteenth century also tended toward the same direction.

4. The exploration of the dark continent of Africa, by Stanley, Livingstone and others, stimulated the interests of the Europeans in that continent.

In England the writings of some prominent men also exerted an influence in the revival of Imperialism. The logical result of the philosophy of Carlyle was Imperialism and he is regarded by some writers as the "father of British Imperialism."[9] Said Carlyle:[10] "Might and right do differ frightfully from hour to hour, but give them centuries to try it is, they are found to be identical." The writings of C.W. Dilke, whose book entitled "Greater Britain" published in 1866, exerted a tremendous influence over England, marked the transition point from the period of anti-Colonialism to New Imperialism.[11] In the same year was founded the "Colonial Society" now known as the Royal Colonial Institute. The writings of Froude, Tennyson, Seeley and finally Kipling popularized the ideas of Imperialism.[12] Of the statesmen, Dis-

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[9]Bodelsen, C.A. op. cit. p. 22.

[10]Quoted in Bodelsen, C.A. op. cit. p. 32.

[11]Ibid., p. 60.

[12]Ibid. See Chs. II and III.

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raeli and Joseph Chamberlain, who were both radicals in their youth, got converted to the school of Imperialism. A romantic imperialist was Cecil John Rhodes.

In Germany, Bismarck was at first averse to German expansion overseas. However, around 1884 he had been converted to these ideas.[13] Regarding the influence of merchants in inaugurating the movement of German Colonialism, Miss Townsend says:[14] "Throughout the entire period, merchants and traders both pushed and led the movement, business interests and opportunities rendered circumstances conducive to its progress." The influence of German writers like Nietzsche, Bernhardo, Droysen, Treitschke, Fabri, Roharbarb and Von Bülow, also was exerted in the same direction. In was under William II however, that Germany embarked upon vast colonial projects.

In France the Franco-German War had stimulated the colonial activity, and Jules Fary, Saint Hilaire and Entienne were its greatest exponents. After the Spanish-American War of 1898, a new entrant into the imperialist whirlpool was the United States. Her great imperialist advocates have been Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, and Admiral Mahan.

The extent of the pre-war colonial possessions of the

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[13] Townsend, W.E. Origins of Modern German Colonialism.
[14] Ibid. p. 194.

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various powers we may gather from Table I which follows. The first point that is to be noticed about the table is, that the former Russian, Turkish and Austro-Hungarian Empires are not included. However, they possessed vast contiguous territories.

Table I.* Extent of Pre-War Colonial Possessions of the Powers.

Countries	Area		Population	
	Possessions (in sq,miles)	Percentage of the world's total colonial area	Possessions	Percentage of the world's total colonial area
United Kingdom	12,679,361	59.36	393,327,000	69.96
France	4,089,697	19.14	56,092,000	9.98
Germany	1,134,193	5.31	12,257,000	2.19
Portugal	804,552	3.77	8,735,000	1.55
Belgium	909,600	4.25	7,000,000	1.25
Netherlands	781,592	3.66	46,102,000	8.56
Italy	591,200	2.77	1,750,000	.33
Spain	134,760	.63	1,305,000	.24
United States	119,333	.56	11,709,000	2.08
Japan	113,482	.53	21,844,000	3.88
Total	21,365,970	100.00	562,161,000	100.00

*Taken from U.S.A. Tariff Commission. Colonial Tariff Policies, p. 5.

Thus, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had an area of 261,259 sq. miles with a population of 49,880,000. Similarly the Russian and Turkisj Empires had areas of 8,764,586 and 710,224 sq.

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miles respectively, with the corresponding populations of 182,182,600 and 21,273,900. According to colonial populations, the nations in order of their importance were as follows: Great Britain, France, Holland, Japan, Germany, United States, Portugal, Belgium, Italy and Spain.

During the Great War, while both the belligerant groups declared that they were fighting for altruistic and honorable purposes, their real motives for conflict were later on revealed by the secret treaties that they had entered into among themselves.[15] As a matter of fact, the scramble for the possession of more territories that had brought about the crisis of Fashoda and Morocco was the basic cause of the Great War.

Sec. 5. Fourth Period. 1919.

With the adoption of the Mandate System in 1919, a new era in Imperialism may be said to have set in. To be sure, the principle accepted was not a new one, as it had already been incorporated in the General Act of the Berlin Conference of 1885, by which governments holding colonies in Africa, had bound themselves "to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well being." [16] However, no definite machinery was set up to enforce this principle, and conse-

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[15] For provisions of the secret treaties see Baker, R., Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement, V. 1, Chs. II-IV.

[16] Buell, R.L. International Relations, p. 336.

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quently the Berlin Act virtually became a dead letter. Now, however, a definite machinery has been set up for its enforcement, which with all its defects is undoubtedly an improvement upon the old system of national control.

After the war, Germany and Austria-Hungary were eliminated as competitors in the Imperialist struggle. Germany may, however, resume her activities after a time. The old Czarist Imperialism exists no more, on account of the downfall of the Czarist government. Bolshevist Russia is not following a policy of Imperialism because her very interests forbid the pursuit of such a policy. Britain profited most from the spoils of the war, for she got the rich territories of Mesopotamia and Transjordania. Besides this, she got Palestine, German South-east and South-west Africa, and the German Islands in the Pacific, south of the equator. France was the second chief gainer. Her chief gains were Syria and most of the former German territories of Kameroon and Togoland. Japan got the German islands in the Pacific, north of the equator. One important development in the post-war Imperialism is the development of the ambitions of Italy since the assumption of power by Mussolini in Italy. In a recent speech Mussolini is reported to have said:[17]

"We are a prolific people and intend to remain so!

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[17] Rea, G.B. The Next War. Far Eastern Review, June, 1926.

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Breed me more sons and I will conquer for you a Roman Empire as powerful as in the days of Augustus. Italy rejects the craven doctrine of birth control and race suicide while other nations hold the fertile waste spaces of the world as future feeding grounds for their unborn spawn. We will fight for our right to exist."

Of late England and Italy have been looking with longing eyes upon Abyssinia; the first because of its strategic importance and the second, partly in order to satisfy her desire for more territory and partly to make up for the humiliation that she suffered at the hands of the Abyssinians at Adowa in 1896.[18]

Sec. 6. Characteristics of Modern Imperialism.

We may note the chief characteristics of modern Imperialism as follows:

1. The economic motives of Imperialism have become the strongest factors, especially since 1870. Whatever the declared motives of Imperialism, economic motives form the most important single group.

2. Ideological motives are used more freely than ever before, in order to justify Imperialism.

3. Strategical reasons have also become more important than ever.

4. The indirect forms of Imperialism have developed more elaborately than ever before. Unlike former times economic penetration generally precedes political occupation.

5. On account of the presence of strong feelings of racial prejudice, modern Imperialism has most signally failed in assimilating subject peoples.

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18. Weiss, Leopold. Sudan and Abyssinia, Living Age, June, 1926

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6. Modern Imperialism, especially in its later period, has been mostly the work of democracies. This explains why such enthusiastic support is given to the governments in their colonial activities by their respective citizens.

7. Modern Imperialism is the work of multiple European states or states of European origin and civilization. The Orient as an active agent of Imperialism has gone out of the stage altogether.[19]

8. With the development of the idea of nationality, the subject peoples have raised a far greater cry against Imperialism than they have ever done before.

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[19] Japan may be cited as an exception, but that hardly disproves the rule.

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Part II. Motives of Imperialism

Chapter V.

Sec. 1. Economic Motives.

We may classify the motives of Imperialism as economic and non-economic. However, the fact that a certain motive is classed in a particular way does not mean that it may not also be classed in some other way. On the contrary, there is probably no motive which is absolutely either economic, or non-economic, or sentimental or ideological. They overlap each other to a considerable extent. The motive of acquiring raw materials for example, while apparently economic, may also be classed as military, in as much as success in modern warfare ultimately depends upon the extent of economic resources possessed by the belligerants. Again, the whole of the motives classed as ideological and covered by the term White Man's Burden, may also be classed as sentimental. This fact should be constantly kept in mind while studying this part of the thesis. This chapter will deal with economic motives only, while the succeeding chapters in this part will take up other motives of Imperialism.

Sec. II. Population.

The argument is that nations with a dense population, need colonies where their surplus population may be sent. This will not only decrease the pressure of population at home but will also keep the emigrants under the flag of the

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mother country. The Malthusian law of population further makes the necessity of the solution of the population problem clear. As early as the 16th century Sir Thomas More admitted the right of countries with dense populations to occupy vacant lands of the earth.[1] In ancient and medieval times race migrations were sometimes due to the pressure of population, but more often due to religious persecutions and warfare. In more recent times, however, the problem of population has become very acute, on account of the tremendous increase in the world's population. The growth of the world's population is shown by Table II.*

Table II. World's Population in 1800, 1882, 1907 & 1920.

Year	Population
1800	850,000,000
1882	1,433,804,000
1907	1 ,603,542,000
1920	1,991,496,000

*The figures have been collected from East, E.M., Mankind at the Crossroads, p. 66, Encyclopedia Brittanica, Article on population and Carr, Saunders, Population, p. 83.

It will be seen from the table that until 1800 the population was only 850 millions. In 1907 however, after a period of

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[1]Cox, H. The Problem of Population, p. 83.

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about one hundred years it almost doubled itself. This tremendous increase of population in the nineteenth century was due to the Industrial Revolution.

But for the purpose of testing the validity of the argument let us find out whether some of the imperialist countries are really over-populated, and then, if so, whether such surplus population goes into their colonies. The density of population of the principle countries is shown by Table LLI.*

Table III. Density of Population of the Principal Countries.

Name of the Country	Population per sq. mile	Name of the country	Population per sq. mile
Austria-Hungary	190.9	Japan	392.4
Belgium	648.0	Java and Madura	682.5
China (18 provinces)	244.7	Portugal	158.5
France	184.4	Russia(pre-war)	20.7
Germany	328.0	Spain	108.1
Holland	563.3	Switzerland	242.8
India (British)	226.0	Turkey(pre-war)	30.0
Italy	329.1	United Kingdom	464.3
		U.S.A.	35.5

*World Almanac, 1926, p. 561-565; for U,S.A. p. 305.

The table shows Java and Madura, Belgium, Holland, United Kingdom, Japan, Italy and Germany the most densely populated of

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these countries. Pre-war Russia whose hunger for more territory was never satisfied, was the least populated of all the countries that are listed in Table III. But even population density is not a true index of the pressure of population on resources. Some of the European countries for example, possessing better resources are in a far better position to support their increasing populations than the comparatively poor countries, like China, India, Java and Japan, although some of these may have lesser population-densities. All these questions, together with that of the standards of living of the various peoples make mathematical conclusions on the subject impossible. However, it is probable as says Prof. East, that there is more pressure of population in some of the Oriental countries than there is in Europe.[2] The natural rate of increase of population of some of the countries listed in Table III is shown in Table IV.

It will be seen from this table that the two countries which have the largest empires are not increasing very fast, and as a matter of fact are, according to Prof. East, tending toward a stationary population.[3] The countries having the highest rate of increase are Holland, Germany, Japan, Italy

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[2] East, E.M. World Wide Problems of Over-population; Current History, July, 1926.

[3] Ibid.

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and Portugal. But as we have already pointed out, none of these factors warrant us in jumping to the conclusion that these countries stand in greater need of colonies than some of the other Oriental countries whose population pressure

Table IV.* Density of Population of the Principal Countries

Name of the Country	Births per thousand	Deaths per thousand	Excess of Births over deaths
Austria	31.4	21.9	9.5
Belgium	23.7	15.2	8.5
China †	40-45	about 40.0	4-5
England	23.1	13.7	9.4
France	18.7	18.4	.3
Germany	29.8	16.2	13.6
Holland	27.8	12.8	15.0
India	32.2	30.9	1.3
Italy	31.3	19.2	12.1
Japan	34.2	21.9	12.3
Java	....	....	....
Portugal	30.7	19.4	11.3
Russia	....	....	....
Spain	21.4	12.5	8.9
Switzerland	22.7	14.3	8.4
Turkey	....	....	.....
U.S.A.°	22.4	12.3	10.1

*Whitaker's Almanac, 1926, p. 89.

†Taken from Prof. East's article in Current History of July, 1926.

°Statesman's Year Book, 1926, p. 441-442.

has assumed another but nevertheless acute form. But whatever be the alleged necessity of acquiring colonies on the grounds of providing room for surplus population it is ad-

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mitted on all hands that the colonial nations have failed to utilize their colonies for the purpose of disposing of their surplus population. Almost all the emigration from Europe is either to the United States or to South America, that is, to independent countries. Very few emigrants go to Australia, New Zealand or South Africa. With the exception of the last three countries and possibly that of Canada, all other colonies have totally failed to serve as dumping grounds for the surplus population of the mother country. The vast empire of France has utterly failed in this respect. In the former German colonies also, the same thing was true. The point seems to us so obvious that it is hardly necessary to burden this paper with further statistics on the point and we may therefore, make the same assertion in the case of the dependencies of other countries as we have made in the case of England and France. Population-argument, therefore, is not a genuine argument for Imperialism.

But even apart from the above considerations, we must also note that emigration is not a permanent solution of over-population. It has been estimated that during the nineteenth century the average rate of annual increase in the population of the world was 0.7%. At present, however, the rate of increase is 1.16%.[4] Now the total land area of the

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[4]Carr, Saunders: Population, p. 68.

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world is 33,000 million acres. But out of this only 13,000 million acres is capable of cultivation. Taking 2.5 acres as capable of supporting a person, the earth can only support a population of 5,200 millions, which at the present rate of increase would be reached in a hundred years.[5] From this it is clear that Imperialism, even if it intends to do so, cannot solve the problems of over population. The remedies for this must be sought in birth control and the increasing use of science for the purposes of production.

Sec. III. Raw Materials.

A more important economic cause of Imperialism is the desire to secure control over those regions which produce raw materials. With the industrialization of modern nations, the need of securing raw materials is increasingly becoming more important. This motive is simply the outgrowth of the Industrial Revolution and was absent during ancient and medieval times. Furthermore, the nature of modern warfare has still increased the importance of raw materials, because economic self-sufficiency is a great asset in its successful conclusion. The dependence upon other nations in respect of raw materials is after all a hazardous process and so the nations struggle hard to get control over regions producing raw materials. We will be in a better position to understand the role played

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[5]Carr, Saunders: Population, p. 68.

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by some of the raw materials if we classify them according to some basis. For this purpose, the classification adopted by Mr. Culbertson[6] is undoubtedly the best. He classifies natural resources as follows:

1. Energy resources.

In this category are included such materials as coal, oil and water power. The most important of these of course is coal. "The energy output of an average workman is about a tenth of a horsepower. The energy expended by a coal miner in an eight hour day thus amounts to about that available from about two pounds of coal."[7] It is no exaggeration then to say that "the real basis of power of a nation is its energy resources rather than its man-power strength."[8] However, coal and water power have not played so important a part in the international struggle for the control of raw materials, as oil of late has come to play. Says Mr. Culbertson: "Probably no raw material has been the cause of so much controversy as petroleum."[9] The competition in oil became a matter of public concern when Great Britain and France discovered during the war, the superlative importance of

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[6] International Economic Policies, p. 307-309.

[7] Ibid, p. 30$.

[8] Ibid, p. 307.

[9] Ibid, p. 325.

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petroleum in the realm of mechanical power. Lord Curzon pithily expressed the importance of oil in modern warfare, when he said that "the Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil." [10] Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade (Great Britain) said in Parliament on Jan. 10, 1916, that the future policy of Great Britain should be to control not only the coal of the world but the supply of oil as well.[11] Again, the First Lord of the Admiralty said before the Institute of Petroleum Technologists in March, 1920: "If we secure the supplies of oil now available in the world, we can do what we like." [12]

Two gigantic oil concerns in the world are the Standard Oil, controlled by American interests, and Royal Dutch Shell, controlled by the British and Dutch interests, with the former predominating. In this connection we may note a significant fact which is, that while the American Oil companies operate as strictly private enterprises, in Great Britain and Netherlands some companies operate as combinations of private and governmental enterprises and the governments give special assistance to certain companies.[13] The British government for example owns a controlling share in the Anglo-Persian

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[10] Hornbeck, S.K. The Struggle for Petroleum, Annals Am. Acad. March, 1924.

[11] Ibid, p. 163.

[12] Ibid. p. 164.

[13] Ibid. p. 170.

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Oil Co., which in turn controls the Turkish Petroleum Co. We will understand better the present oil diplomacy if we note the percentages of oil reserves possessed by the various countries. Table V shows these figures.

Table V*. Percentages of Oil Reserves Possessed by the Chief Oil Producing Countries.

Name of Country	Percentages
U.S.A.	About 14.0
British Empire	" 8.4
Persia & Mesopotamia	" 8.0
Dutch East Indies	" 5.0
South America	" 18.4
Mexico	" 6.4
Russia	" 5.0

*Hornbeck, S.K. op. cit. p. 166. We may also note that the oil reserves of the world are estimated at 70 billion barrels.

Thus contrary to popular belief, while the United States contributes annually about 2/3 of the oil output of the world, it is far from possessing a monopoly of the oil reserves of the world. "Dollar diplomacy" and the interest of Great Britain in Persia and Mesopotamia would not be difficult to understand if we glance at the figures shown by our table.

2. Another class of raw materials consists of those that are reproducible. To this class belong such materials as silk, wool, rubber, cotton and jute. Japan dominates the

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raw silk market, British East Indies the rubber market, India the jute market, and the United States the cotton market. [14] These materials are vital for the existence of the industrial nations and hence of late, the attempts by Great Britain to control the output of rubber has created ill-feeling between her and the United States. The former is trying to become independent in the matter of cotton, by stimulating its cultivation in Sudan, Egypt, Mesopotamia and other suitable parts of the Empire.

3. Non-reproducible but partially recoverable raw materials. To this class belong most of the metals such as iron, copper, lead and silver. The importance of these materials is hardly to be over-estimated. The presence of iron and copper - of course along with coal - constitutes the real foundations of the industrial greatness of a nation. Therefore, every industrial state endeavors to become self-sufficient in these.

4. Non-reproducible and non-recoverable materials.

To this class belong the materials covered by the general term abrasives such as asbestos and mica. These are essential for certain metallurgical operations.

5. Food-stuffs.

Such industrial nations as England, Germany and Belgium

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[14] Culbertson, W.S. op. cit. p. 306.

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depend for a considerable supply of their food materials upon outside countries. To safeguard such sources of supply, they tend to bring some of these regions under their control. The importance of having a secure supply of food-stuffs has of late become especially important on account of the nature of modern warfare in which the naval powers possess the effective weapon of blockade for starving their opponents into submission. However, it must not be forgotten that only naval powers can get food-stuffs from their colonies during times of war. The problems of race migration and race distribution are another aspect of the same problem of food supply.

However, there are inherent fallacies in the argument that industrial nations should control other countries in order to secure cheap supply of raw materials. First, it ignores the important point that raw materials like any other commodity would move according to certain economic laws and not according to the fact of political control. The exports of the Dutch East Indies and the export of cotton from the United States clearly show the fallacy of such an assumption. Secondly, it ignores the fact that only great naval powers can keep up their supply during times of war. Thirdly, the argument utterly breaks down if we remember that if every industrial nation were to aim at the national control of raw materials necessary for its use, other nations would necessarily be precluded from the possibility of exercising such con-

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trol, because there are only limited regions of this nature in the world.. The scramble that would necessarily follow from the pursuit of such a policy, would probably more than counterbalance the gains that might have accrued to a nation by the national control of such regions.

To avoid all these difficulties therefore, the following three proposals have generally been suggested.

1. The adoption by all nations of the policy of Open Door, in the case of raw materials. This policy with slight modifications, for the purpose of enabling industrially backward countries to help their rising young industries, would undoubtedly go a long way toward meeting some of the objections raised by the national control of raw materials. This has been the traditional demand of the United States.

2. Free trade in raw materials.

This would necessitate the abandonment of purely revenue duties imposed by certain states on the export of some raw materials, and would probably put them in financial difficulties. This would also prevent industrially backward nations to help some of their rising young industries in the form of export duties on the raw materials necessary for such industries. This proposal therefore seems to be less practicable than the first one.

3. Apportionment of raw materials to the various nations

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according to some internationally fixed basis. In a way this proposal overlaps the first two; but is distinct from them in as much as it requires far more international action than either of the other two. Partly because of its obvious practical difficulties and partly because of the fact, that nations are not likely to surrender that much of their authority which would be required for such a purpose, to any international organization, such a proposal is not likely to succeed. The first policy, therefore, seems to us the most feasible, But whatever policy is adopted in order to solve this problem it is certain that exclusive national control of raw materials will not solve the problem.

Sec. 4. Markets.

Another closely allied motive of Imperialism is to secure and maintain markets for the products of the mother country. Joseph Chamberlain best expressed this motive in his speech to the London Chamber of Commerce in 1896. For he said:[15]

"From the moment that we accepted and entered upon the duties of office, our most important duty, our most absorbing care, has been not the party legislation which occupies probably the largest part of our public discussions, but the development and maintenance of that vast agricultural, manufacturing and commercial enterprise upon which the welfare and even the existence of our great population depends..... All the great offices of State are occupied with commercial affairs. The Foreign Office and the Colonial Office are chiefly engaged in finding new markets and in defending old

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[15]Quoted in Woolf, L.S. Empire and Commerce in Africa, p. 7.

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ones. The War Office and Admiralty are mostly occupied in preparations for the defense of these markets and for the protection of our Commerce.....Therefore it is not too much to say that Commerce is the greatest of all political interests, and that government deserves most the popular approval, which does most to increase our trade and to settle it on a firm foundation."

However, it is undoubtedly true, that very extravagant hopes have been raised with regard to this aspect of Imperialism. The colonial acquisitions of Italy, France and Portugal are not of much value from the point of view. Even in the case of England, the colonial trade forms a small proportion of her total foreign trade. At the present time, nearly one-fifth of the trade of the world is colonial, and it is increasing more rapidly than the trade between the independent states.[16] This tendency however, is not likely to continue, as the wealth of the colonies is not likely to continue increasing at the present rate. We will take France and England as two typical imperialist countries and show the proportion of their colonial trade to their total foreign trade. Table VI shows this result.

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[16] U.S. Tariff Commission, Colonial Tariff Policies, p. 19.

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Table VI.* The Proportion of the Colonial Trade of Great Britain and France to their total Foreign Trade.

Name of Country	Total Foreign Trade (1924)	Colonial Trade (1924)	Percentage of Col. to Foreign
	Pounds	Pounds	
Great Britain	2,250,355,000	261,240,000	15.6
	Francs	Francs	
France	61,566,711,000	9,615,565,133	12.3

* Statesmen's Year Book, 1926, p. 55 and 672. Figures for the foreign trade of France are taken from World Almanac, 1926, p. 622.

From Table VI it will be seen that Colonial trade forms an insignificant part of the total foreign trade of Great Britain and France. What is true of these countries is true to a more or less extent in the case of other imperialist countries. Another point to be noticed in this connection is, that this trade with the colonies would not disappear if the latter became independent. Indeed, on so sandy foundations does the commercial argument of Imperialism rest, that we propose to show its further hollowness by pointing out the small proportion of the national income that the five chief imperialist powers derive from their foreign trade. Table VII shows this result.

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Table VII.* Income from Foreign Trade expressed as a percentage of the total National Income.
(Figures are in millions of dollars.)

Country	Wealth	Income	(1925 U.S.A. the rest 1924) Total Foreign Trade	Income from foreign trade at rate of 5%.	Income from foreign trade expressed as a percentage of national income
U.S.A.	$380,000	$75,000	8,688	434.4	0.58
Great Britain	119,200	18,900	10,864	543.2	2.87
Germany	59,500	11,900	3,784	189.5	1.59
France	28,600	4,300	4,220	220.0	5.16
Italy	19,900	3,600	1,468	73.4	2.38

* The figures for wealth and income have been taken from an article entitled "American Prosperity", which appeared in London Times of July 24, 1926, on page 8. The article is thoroughly reliable, since the figures have been compiled from the statistics on the subject furnished to the League of Nations by Dr. Gini.
The figures for foreign trade have been compiled from World Almanac for 1926.

In evaluating the figures given in Table VII it must be borne in mind that the estimates for national wealth and income are only reasonable guesses at best. The figures that we have quoted are from the best available source. But making allowance for this factor, as well as the abnormal condition of certain of these countries - as for example, France and Germany - we can reasonably assume that the figures are not too far from the truth. In calculating the net income from foreign trade, we have taken 5% as a fair return on the total

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amount of foreign trade. This assumption is based on the authority of an economist of high repute.[17] From a study of Table VII, we find that income from foreign trade forms a small part of the total national income of the chief industrialized countries of the world. We have already seen from Table VI that colonial trade forms a small part of the total foreign trade. Therefore, the income derived from colonial trade forms a still smaller portion of the total national income of the colonial powers. However, a critic may object to our having separated the income from foreign trade, from that derived from other sources, on the ground that this separation is arbitrary and is based on ignorance of economic laws, as it fails to take into account the fact, that without foreign trade, a considerable part of the national income derivable from internal sources must collapse. Here we cannot do better than to quote the words of a prominent economist, Mr. Hobson, who says:[18]

"This plausible presentation of the matter rests, however, upon shallow economic analysis. It is an excellent thing to have a wide and various foreign market, but we cannot admit that the capital and labour which made the export goods must have remained without employment if this foreign outlet for the goods they made had not existed."

But even the above figures exaggerate the economic importance of Imperialism, because a considerable part of the

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[17] Hobson, J.A. Imperialism, p. 30.

[18] Ibid, p. 31.

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colonial trade is the result of artificial means taken by the mother countries in order to stimulate that trade, and consequently is not due entirely to the spontaneous working of the economic laws. This is due to the fact that at the present time, most colonial powers follow policies which aim to reserve their colonies as a preserve for the home merchants.[19] To be sure, colonial trade is not as monopolistic in nature as it was during the first part of the modern era, but nevertheless, it is far from being free from restrictions. The policy that we have just referred to is popularly known as the Closed Door, and may exhibit itself in three forms within colonial empires.[20] These forms are: 1. tariffs, 2. shippings, and 3. concessions. The Closed Door in tariffs does not mean necessarily a high tariff; it means Discrimination in favor of the home country. At the present time, three different tariff systems are followed in the colonies. The first is the Open Door, in which goods from the mother country are given no privilege not accorded goods from any other country. At the present time, only the Netherlands, Belgium and a majority of the British Crown Colonies follow this system. The second policy is tariff assimilation, under which trade between the mother country and the colony is absolutely free, while the tariff system of the mother country is applied

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19 Buell, R.L. International Relations, p. 422.

20 Ibid, p. 422.

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to the colony as far as outside trade is concerned. This policy is followed by France, Japan and the United States. The third policy in this connection is tariff preference. Under this system, the mother country and the colony have different tariffs, but they each may grant a partial or complete exemption in duties on goods coming from the other. This policy is followed by the United States in the case of the Philippines. It is also followed by Italy, Spain, Portugal and the dominions of the British Empire. In 1919, even Great Britain granted such a preference to goods imported from the Dominions.[21]

The second aspect of the Closed Door is exhibited in the form of laws designed to favor shipping of the mother country. For this purpose, some countries extend their definition of coastwise trade to include trade between the home country and the colonies, which is therefore reserved to home vessels. Spain and the United States are the only countries in the world to follow this policy in their dependencies as a whole, although France applies it to Algeria.

Finally, the third aspect of the Closed Door applies to concessions. In the French colonies for example, oil concessions are granted to aliens, only when they form part of a French joint stock company, two-thirds of the directors of which are Frenchmen. In the Dutch East Indies no concessions

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21 Buell, R.L. International Relations, p. 423.

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are granted to non-resident alien companies. In Canada and Trinidad some restrictions upon foreigners exist, while in India, prospecting or mining leases have in practice been granted only to British subjects.[22]

While the various colonial powers do not follow a uniform tariff policy in their dependencies, we may nevertheless say roughly, that Spain, Portugal, Italy, Japan, France and Russia[23] (pre-war) have, unless compelled by a treaty, followed the policy of the closed door in their colonies, and Great Britain, Netherlands and Germany (until she lost her colonies) have followed the open door, as a matter of policy in their dependencies.[24] However, various international agreements have been entered into by the powers, for the extension of the principle of the Open Door. At the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, the Open Door was adopted for the region of Central Africa. In 1896, the same policy was agreed to, by the various nations concerned, with regard to China. This was embodied in Secretary Hay's notes, and was again confirmed by the Nine-Power-Treaty at the Washington Conference of 1921. Similar agreements have been entered into with regard to Morocco, Abyssinia, Turkey and even in the case of the colonies proper.[25]

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22 Buell, R.L. op. cit. p. 242.

23 Culbertson, W.S. op. cit. p. 212.

24 Ibid. p. 267.

25 Buell, op. cit. p. 426.

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The Covenant of the League of Nations provides for the Open Door in the case of B Mandates, while in the case of the A Mandates the Open Door has been accepted as a matter of policy. But it must be remembered that the tradition of the Open Door was already strong in the territories now embraced by the various Mandates.[26] With regard to the actual operation of these Open Door agreements, Mr. Buell says: "Although the Open Door principle has been accepted by many nations, so many difficulties in its application have arisen that in practice, it has usually been nullified." As regards the present standing of the doctrine Mr. Culbertson, a member of the United States Tariff Board says:

"Generally speaking, the policy of the Open Door has been losing ground since the eighties of the last century. The introduction of preferential features into the tariff of Great Britain in 1919 has given a momentum towards the adoption of preferential provisions in the Crown Colonies." [27]

We have dealt at some length with the question of the policies of Closed and Open Door in order to show that Imperialism tends towards the policy of the Closed Door. The effects of this policy on international relations and upon the natives we shall deal with in Part III of this paper.

Sec. 5. Investments.

A far more powerful economic motive of Imperialism is

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[26] Culbertson, W.S. op, cit. p. 291.

[27] Int. Relations, p. 432.

[28] Culbertson, W.S. op. cit. p. 298.

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the desire to secure territories wherein to invest the surplus funds of the home country. This exportation of capital as the phenomenon of foreign investments is often called, is not a new thing, although it developed enormously during the second half of the nineteenth century. During the eighteenth century, Amsterdam was the financial center of the world.[29] The Napoleonic Wars put an end to her supremacy, and from that time London took over the leading rôle. For half a century she was practically alone in the ability of lend capital. Beginning about 1850 France began in her turn to play the part of a capitalist nation until before the war, the Paris Bourse was the second greatest financial center of the world.[30] The Berlin Börse rose next, and it became the third greatest financial center of the world. The Great War converted the United States from a debtor nation to probably the world's primary money market. On the other hand, it reduced France, Germany and Belgium, the only three other great creditor nations besides Great Britain, to debtor states.[31] Great Britain's financial supremacy is probably permanently gone, unless such factors as war or annexation restore her position in future.

But before we proceed further, we may note the causes

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29 Viallate, International Relations during the last fifty years, page 55.

30 Ibid. p. 56.

31 Culbertson, W.S. op. cit. p. 345.

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of the extraordinary rise of foreign investments. The following may be set down as the chief ones:

1. The Industrial Revolution, which by increasing industrial production, has made available vast sums of surplus capital in industrial countries.

2. The desire to be near the source of the raw materials.

3. The desire to exploit cheap labor in foreign countries.

4. The desire to avoid paying high tariff duties, by getting inside the tariff wall, and in some cases, to profit by the preferential tariff arrangements, as in the case of Canada and several other parts of the British Empire.

5. Prospect of higher returns.

6. Desire of capitalists in some cases to escape heavy taxation. Now, one important fact that should be noted is, that we cannot separate entirely the commercial aspects of Imperialism - as represented in its desire to control sources of raw materials and secure political control over other territories, so that they may serve as markets for the goods of the mother country - from its financial aspects. Because obviously, foreign investments in another country, when employed in railroads or such other productive enterprises, would also increase the trade of that country and vice versa. In this connection it may also be remembered that the borrowing countries generally, do not import currency, but use these credits in importing manufactured articles from the creditor country.

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The chief forms of the export of capital can best be made clear by outlining briefly the chief classifications of foreign loans and investments. The following three classifications are generally adopted by writers on the subject.[32]

I. Classification based on different types of borrowers or lenders.

A. Private capital invested abroad in the development of private enterprises. This type constitutes the great mass of foreign investments, and is especially a characteristic of English, German and American foreign investments.

B. Private loans to foreign governments. An example of this type may be cited as the French loans to the former Czarist government. This has been specially a peculiarity of the French foreign investments.

C. Government loans to governments. The best example of this is the inter-allied debts during the Great War.

D. Government investments in private enterprises. An instance of this is to be found in the shares owned by the British giverment in the case of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., and the Suez Canal.

II. Loans and investments classed according to purpose.

A. Funds invested in productive enterprises. To this class have belonged most of the English, American and German

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32 Culbertson, W.S. op. cit. p. 352-363.

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investments.

B. Funds invested in non-productive enterprises. To this type have belonged most of the French foreign investments.

III. Classification based on the nature of the government of the borrowing country.

A. Loans or investments in a country with a stable government. This class does not involve any problems of Imperialism.

B. Capital invested in dependent colonies and in countries whose governments are weak. It is here that investments are made the tool of Imperialism.

This outline makes clear tolerably well the chief forms in which international finance makes itself felt in the political relations of states, and hence comments on the subject seem superfluous.

We may now note the extent of the foreign investments of the chief capital exporting countries, and indicate their distribution in other countries. Before the War, in 1914, British foreign investments were estimated at about twenty billion dollars, and they were increasing at the rate of about one billion dollars a year.[33] French foreign investments were about eight billion dollars and were increasing

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[33] Culbertson, W.S. op. cit. p. 347-348.

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at the rate of 400,000,000 dollars a year.[34] German foreign investments were estimated between five and seven billions with an annual rate of increase of from $250,000,000 to $300,000,000.[35] The foreign investments of the United States, at the end of 1913 were estimated at $2,605,000,000.[36] However, for the whole period between 1896-1914 the net flow of capital investment was decidedly into the United States. Besides these countries, Belgium and Holland had considerable foreign investments, although exact figures for them are not available. The foreign investment of Belgium probably totalled one billion dollars, while that of Holland was about half as large. The total foreign investment of the world in 1914 was estimated at 40 billion dollars,[37] (the United States excepted). In contrast to these creditor countries, Russia, the Balkan countries, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Persia, India, China, Japan, the Latin American countries and the United States were large absorbents of foreign capital. The war changed fundamentally the position of the United States and considerably of Japan. At the present time, the United States has a total foreign investment of approximately twenty-

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34 Viallato, A. Economic Imperialism and International Relations, p. 60.

35 Ibid. p. 60.

36 Dunn, R.W. American Foreign Investments, p. 3.

37 Am. Acad. Pol. Sci. Annals, July, 1926, p. 72.

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two billion dollars, twelve billion of government loans and ten billion private investments. Her foreign investments are now increasing at the rate of one billion dollars a year.[38] According to Dr. Max Winkler of Moody's Investment Service (an exceptionally reliable authority) American foreign investments abroad may amount to twelve billion dollars by the end of 1926, exclusive of governmental loans, amounting to 12 billion dollars. Some competent economists expect American foreign investments to rise to twenty-five billion dollars by 1935 and to fifty billions by 1950.[39] These forecasts have been referred to here in order to show that the United States is increasingly becoming a foreign investor, and that fact has, and is certain to affect still more, her international relations. Japan is another country whose financial position has been changed for the better by the Great War. On the other hand, war affected adversely the financial position of Great Britain, France, Germany and Belgium. Britain sold during thw war approximately one fourth of her foreign securities and consequently her outstanding foreign investments amount to about fifteen billion dollars only.[40] Of France's foreign

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38 Am, Acad. Pol. Sci. op. cit. p. 71-72.

39 Dunn, R.W. op. cit. p. 183-184.

40 Culbertson, W.S. op. cit. p. 346.

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investments, fully one-half must have been irretrievably lost. Germany's foreign investments have either been expended in the war or transferred to her former enemies.[41] The case of Belgium seems no better.

As regards the distribution of the foreign investments, British investments were distributed most widely. The distribution in the British dependencies and colonies was as follows:[42]

	Pounds Sterling
Canada and Newfoundland.....	515,000,000
India and Ceylon.....	379,000,000
South Africa.....	370,000,000
Australia.....	332,000,000
New Zealand.....	84,000,000
West Africa.....	37,000,000
Straits Settlements.....	27,000,000
Total including other colonies..	1,780,000,000

In foreign countries, the distribution of British investments was as follows:[43]

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41 Am. Acad. Pol. Sci. The Annals, July 26, p. 73.

42 Am. Acad. Pol. Sci. The Annals, Nov. 1916, p. 30.

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U.S.A.	755,000,000
Argentina	320,000,000
Brazil	148,000,000
Mexico	99,000,000
Russia	67,000,000
Japan	63,000,000
Chile	61,000,000
Egypt	45,000,000
China	44,000,000
Uruguay	36,000,000
Peru	34,000,000
Cuba	33,000,000
Miscellaneous American countries	26,000,000
Spain	19,000,000
Turkey	19,000,000
Italy	12,000,000
Portugal	8,000,000
France	8,000,000
Germany	6,000,000
Total including others	1,934,000,000
Grand total	3,714,000,000

The thing to be noted in the case of British investments is, that they are almost equally divided between the foreign countries and the dependencies of Great Britain.

The American investments in 1923 and 1924 were distributed as follows.[44] (Figures are in millions of dollars.)

Region	1923	Percentage of total	1924	Percent
Canada and New Foundland	2,450	30	2,460	27
Europe	1,300	16	1,900	21
Latin America	3,760	46	4,040	44
Asia and Oceania	595	8	690	8
	8,105	100	9,090	100

The country which has the greatest amount of American invest-

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44 Dunn, R.W. op. cit., p. 163.

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ments is Canada. The next in importance are Latin American countries. Europe comes third and Asia last of all. Among the chief Latin American countries the distribution of investments is as follows:

Cuba	$1,360,000,000
Mexico	1,280,000,000
Chile	400,000,000
Brazil	300,000,000
Argentine	250,000,000
Peru	100,000,000

The figures indicating the exact distribution of the investments of France. Germany, Belgium, Holland and Japan are not available. However, we know that French investments were chiefly placed in Russia, Latin American countries, Turkey, Cochin China and other French colonies. German investments were chiefly found in Russia, Balkan countries, Turkey, Shantung (China), Latin American countries, the United States, Canada, Austria-Hungary and Italy. Belgian investments were chiefly in Belgian Congo and some Latin American countries. Dutch investments were mostly in the Dutch East Indies, while the Japanese investments were confined to South Manchuria, Eastern Inner Mongolia, Central China, Siberia, the Philippines, and the Dutch East Indies.[45]

The economic importance of investments would now be clear. We have already noticed that the total foreign investments in 1914 amounted to forty billion dollars. Adding to

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[45] Culbertson, W.S. op. cit. p. 346.

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this the additional twenty billion dollars as the investments of the United States, we get the present total of the foreign investments of the world as 60 billion dollars.[46] Now the total trade of the world in 1924 was fifty-two billion dollars.[47] Consequently, the foreign investments of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland and Japan - that is just seven countries - is greater than the total foreign trade of the world. If we compare the figures of foreign trade of the United States, United Kingdom, Germany and France, given in Table VII, with the foreign investments of these countries, we will find that in the case of the United States they are nearly thrice as much as its foreign trade,[48] while in the case of the other three countries they are twice as much as their respective foreign trades. Therefore, we may safely conclude that the desire to invest in foreign countries is a far more powerful economic motive of Imperialism than the purely trade and commercial one. We may also state in this connection, that Great Britain is the only great financial country in the world, whose colonial investments form a substantial part of her total foreign investments.

But it is the political aspects of foreign infestments that really concern us here, and it is only for their better

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46 The losses of Germany, France and Belgium are not excluded from this sum.

47 Europa Year Book, 1926. p. 147.

48 That is including the 12 billion governmental loans.

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elucidation that we have given so much space to their distribution. We have already noticed that foreign investments in countries whose governments are strong do not involve any political complications, but it is otherwise in countries whose governments are weak. However, even in the case of the former, investments have been used for political purposes. For example, loans have been frequently used to cement politico-military alliances as was the case with the French loans to Russia before the War, and French loans to Poland and Czechoslovakia since the War. Sometimes, loans are withheld and are thus used as a political weapon against an unfriendly state. France has been especially noted for that, although other countries also exercise such control over loans floated in their dominions.[49] In the case of weak countries, the imperialist powers frequently use investments for political purposes. French and Japanese, and to some extent German investments, have been especially of that nature, while British and American investments have generally been of economic nature.[50] For political purposes, states have frequently intervened in behalf of their nationals, whenever it seemed that their interests were in danger. It should be remembered here, that states were not used to this policy of intervention until Lord Palmerston, the British For-

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[49] Moon, P.T. Syllabus on International Relations, p. 189.

[50] Culbertson, W.S. op. cit. p. 373-380.

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eign Secretary, laid it down in his famous "Civis Romanus" speech in which he said:[51]

> "As the Roman in the days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say "Civis Romanus sum", so also a British subject in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong."

But when Palmerston enunciated this policy, he was censured by the House of Lords, violently resisted by the Queen, and opposed in the Commons by such Conservatives as Sir Robert Peel.[52] This policy now has become an accepted one and European powers have often intervened in Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, Turkey and China, in order to protect the interests of their nationals. The United States has frequently done so in the case of several Latin American countries. In general, four courses have been followed by creditor nations towards defaulting countries, when the former have regarded the claims of their nationals as just.[53] They have either (1) refused to recognize such a government as is the case of the United States and France with the present Soviet government, or (2) intervened temporarily as was the case with the British in Egypt in 1882, or (3) established national financial control. The United States has especially followed this policy and she exercises financial control over Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo

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51 Brailsford, N.H. The War of Steel and Gold, p. 53.

52 Ibid, p. 53.

53 Buell, R.L. op. cit. p. 395-406.

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and Nicaraugua. (4) Lastly, nations have resorted to international financial control. This has been the case in Egypt, Turkey, Greece and to some extent in China.

However, it must be understood that the problem of protecting the interests of the nationals of strong states in the dominions of weak states, does not arise entirely out of foreign investments. The trading and commercial interests have as well required such a protection. The foreign merchants, especially the British, repeatedly asked for and were accorded such a protection in China in the nineteenth century. The Opium War of 1842 for example, had this question was its immediate problem. In the case of investments, however, the problem assumes a greater importance, because the stake of the foreigners is much greater. Indeed we may lay it down as a general rule, that the concessionaires prefer the political control of their own nation to the control by the country itself. This is so, because political control over such a country gives greater chances of securing concessions for the building of railways, the working of mines, and the exploitation of other resources, to the nationals of the country exercising such a control. Furthermore, the chances of losing the advantages derived from extortionate concessions are farless when the country is under the control of the mother country of such concessionaires. Or to express the same idea in another form, we may say that since trade and commerce

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follow more closely the economic laws of supply and demand, they tend less towards the political domination of other countries than the foreign investments, where such economic laws can be more readily offset by the action of the foreign governments exercising political control over other countries.

The political effects of foreign investments in weak states have therefore been, to involve the investing nation in Imperialism and international rivalry. Bitter international rivalry for concessions in weak countries has resulted from this policy of concession hunting. The evil has been further accentuated by the fact that nations, instead of tempering the economic rivalry of their citizens have generally appeared as their advocates. Differences in wealth have been further increased in the investing countries as a result of the aggressive policy of foreign investments. The effects on the weak countries have sometimes been deplorable. No doubt, the opening up of these countries by the building up of railways and other transportation facilities, by foreign capital, has benefited them, but they have paid dearly for this. They have not only come into the economic orbit of the investing countries, but also under their political domination. The Great Powers have carved out spheres of interest for themselves in such countries as China, Siam, Turkey, Persia and the Balkans, while the United States virtually wields political sovereignty over the Caribbean countries.

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In order to protect their interests they have imposed such restrictions on those weaker countries as extra-territorial privileges and financial restrictions, such as control of tariff and customs. Such powerful economic interests are sometimes a great factor in the domestic politics of these helpless countries and frequently act as an incubus to reform.[54]

As regards the non-political effects of foreign concessions upon the natives of these weak states, their ruthless exploitation may be cited. The horrors of Belgian and French Congo, in the Cocoa Islands, and some South American countries are too well known to need repetition.[55] In Belgian and French Congo, and the Cocoa Islands, virtual slavery existed for a number of years. Natives were compelled to work at pitifully low allowances and under shocking conditions. One of the most disgraceful examples of foreign exploitation occurred in the Putumayo district in South America a number of years ago. Under the direction of two hundred foremen and armed assistants, about 10,000 Indian laborers were kept in a system of slavery on the plantations. The foremen were usually illiterate men, some of them ex-criminals - who were guilty of the most outrageous conduct in the treatment of their men. When an Indian fled, an armed expedition would go in pursuit. In one instance, when a woman's work was

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54. Such is the case with China, Persia, Turkey before the war, and Siam.

55. For some of these horrors, see Morel, E.D. Blackman's Burd

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hindered by the presence of her child, a foreman dashed its brains out against a tree before the mother's eyes! [56] That is a sample of the effect of foreign investments upon the natives of some of these weak countries.

We have seen that the doctrine of the national protection of foreign investments is the core of Imperialism as embodied in concession-hunting. For the solution of this problem of protecting foreign investments, the following four main proposals have been suggested:[57]

1. Abandonment of the whole principle of nationalistic protection and letting investors assume the whole responsibility of their actions. This policy may be described as the laissez faire policy, although by so doing we put this policy under some disadvantage because on account of the bad sense in which the word has come to be used a measure bearing this name is not likely to receive a reasonable reception from the unthinking masses. This policy however, seems to us the best of all that we can think of. It is a fundamental law of economics, that when there are greater gains in a transaction, there is also a greater risk involved in it. Now, in foreign investments, there are greater profits expected, and consequently, the risks involved must be correspondingly greater.

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56 Buell, R.L. op. cit. p. 363.

57 Taken from Moon, P.T. Syllabus on International Relations, p. 191.

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Therefore, just as in domestic transactions of this nature, the whole responsibility for gain or loss is assumed by the entrepreneur, similarly the foreign investor must also assume the same responsibility. Against this position is sometimes advanced the argument, that if such a policy of laissez faire were adopted, unscrupulous concession-hunters would victimize the weak and corrupt governments, who would be no match for their scientific greed. Our simple answer to this is, that the governments of investing countries have never acted as the protectors of the interests of the weak states and are not likely to do so in future. In practice, they have always supported the claims of their nationals whether just or unjust. In the case of the Egyptian loans under Mehemet Ali for example, the interest rates charged sometimes ran as high as 25%, yet the powers never allowed the Egyptians to lower the interest rates, although they allowed Lord Cromer to do so - but that was when they had secured control of Egypt.[58] The same was true of the Bey of Tunis. That the doctrine of laissez faire is not impracticable is further shown by the fact that one of the most practical men of all ages - the Iron Chancellor of Germany - was the adherent of this policy. Thus wrote Bismarck, on September 2, 1885, to

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[58] Brailsford, H.N. op. cit., p. 97-98.

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Dr. von Siemens, Managing Director of the Deutsch Bank:[59]

"The danger involved therein (foreign investments) for German entrepreneurs must be assumed exclusively by the entrepreneurs and the latter must not count upon the protection of the German Empire against eventualities connected with precarious enterprises in foreign countries."

This same doctrine was laid down in 1867 by the Brazilian jurist Calvo, and was voted upon favorably by the South American delegates at the first Pan-American Conference held in 1890.[60]

2. Drago Doctrine.

This was laid down by the Argentine jurist Drago who proposed that no armed intervention for the collection of debts should be allowed. This doctrine was adopted at the Third Pan-American Conference held in 1906. Although the course sanctioned by this proposal is better than national armed military intervention, it amounts to diplomatic intervention on the part of states and is consequently objectionable.

3. The Hague Convention of 1907 lays down that no force should be used for the purpose of collecting international debts unless the debtor government has previously rejected arbitration. The same objections apply to it.

4. International protection of investments and joint-

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59 Quoted in Earle, E.M. Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway, p. 41.

60 Viallate, A. op. cit., p. 64.

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intervention if necessary. With the exception of the first proposal, this solution is the best of all.

In making foreign investments, the following three rules should be observed by the investing nations:[61] 1.Loans should be granted for productive purposes. 2. Loans should be extended for economic reasons. 3. Loans should be extended with due regard to the interests of the investors and of the borrowers.

Sec. 6. Places of Remunerative Employment.

Another economic motive of Imperialism is the desire to carve out places of remunerative employment in the dependencies. It is a noteworthy fact that military, naval and civil service men in the colonies are proverbially imperialistic. The British Civil Service men in India have long been famous for their block-headedness in opposing all reforms. This is not unnatural when we remember that their scale of pay is exceptionally heavy. Although the totality of their incomes[62] forms an insignificant part of their national income these opportunities for employment in the highest grades of service in the colonies is not small economic advantage, and is not merely a vast system of outdoor relief for the Upper Classes, as John Stuart Mill put it.[63] Sir Frederic Lugard, who is one of the greatest English authorities on Colonial

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61 Annals of Am, Ac. Pol. Soi. July, 1926, p. 96-97.

62 The annual drain of wealth from India in the form of "Home charges" is estimated at 30 million sterling.

63. Hobson, J.A. Imperialism, p. 56.

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affairs and has himself spent his whole life in colonial ser-
vice, expresses the same idea frankly and bluntly when he says:[64]

"Of all these (administrative and economic) fields of activity openings are afforded for every class of the youth of England, whether from the University, technical school or the workshops. It is difficult to realize how severe would be the blow to the life of the nation, if these thousands of avenues to independent initiative and individual enterprise and ambition were closed as Germany has largely closed them to her people by her crime against the world."

Sec. 7. Summary.

In this chapter we have considered the economic motives of Imperialism. We have seen that surplus population argument of Imperialism has totally failed in practice, especially in modern times. We have further seen that the commerce of the colonial nations with their colonies forms a small part of their total foreign commerce and would not disappear altogether if their political relations were severed. Foreign investments we have found to be the strongest economic factor in Imperialism. While the economic motives of Imperialism are undoubtedly more important than others, the nation as a whole does not derive much economic advantage from the possession of colonies. The owners of war industries, the great manufacturers for export trade, shipping interests, the colonial service and above all, the great concessionaire magnates are the chief gainers of imperialistic enterprises undertaken by their respective

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64 Lugard, F.D. The Dual Mandate, p. 612.

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governments. These classes so to say, are the economic parasites of Imperialism. The utter economic folly of Imperialism, to the nation as a whole, would be still more evident, if we were to take account of the excessive military expenditures and the huge expenditures on international wars, the most important cause of which is imperialism.

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Chapter VI.

Ideological Motives of Imperialism

Sec. I. The Nature of Ideological Motives.

The ideological motives of Imperialism include such idealistic desires on the part of imperialistic nations as the preaching of Christianity to the heathen, teaching of Western political institutions to the "backward peoples", alleviating the sufferings of the backward peoples, and lastly, to promote the cause of world peace by reducing the number of small states in the world. The whole of these motives are covered by the term "White Man's Burden." Rudyard Kipling has given expression to this Divine Duty of White Man in his poem entitled "The White Man's Burden ." which next to "The Recessional" is his most popular poem. We are therefore giving below the most relevant portions of that poem:

"Take up the White Man's Burden -
Send forth the best ye breed -
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild -
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

Take up the White Man's Burden
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror,
And check the show of pride,
By open speech and simple,
And hundred times made plain,
To seek another's profit,
And work another's gain.

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Take up the White Man's Burden -
   The savage wars of peace -
Fill full the mouth of famine
   And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
   The end for others sought
Watch sloth and heathen folly
   Bring all your hope to naught.

Take up the White Man's Burden
   No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper -
   The task of common things
The ports ye shall not enter,
   The roads ye shall not tread,
Go make them with your living
   And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's Burden -
   And reap his old reward,
The blames of those ye better,
   The hate of those ye guard -
The cry of hosts ye humour
   (Ah slowly!) toward the light -
'Why brought ye us from bondage,
   Our loved Egyptian night!'

Take up the White Man's Burden -
   Ye dare not stoop to less -
Nor call too loud on Freedom
   To cloak your weariness;
By all ye cry or whisper,
   By all ye leave or do,
The sullen silent peoples
   Shall weigh your God and you.

Take up the White Man's Burden -
   Have done with childish days -
The lightly proffered laural,
   The easy ungrudged praise.
Comes now to search your manhood
   Through all the thankless years,
Cold-edged with dear-bought wisdom,
   The judgment of your peers!" 1

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Kipling, Rudyard, The Five Nations, p. 79-81.

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Sec. 2. Points from which the argument of White Man's Burden must be examined.

There are two points from which this argument of White Man's Burden must be examined.

1. Are the white races really fit to carry on this burden?
2. Granting their ability to carry on this burden, have they faithfully carried it out?

Sec. 3. Ability to carry on the burden.

Before this Divine Right of the white races to govern the non-white peoples can be conceded, the former must advance an acceptable criterion of progress which is the cardinal point of the whole argument. The white races have too often advanced arbitrary standards of progress in order to serve their own purposes. Here for our consideration we may divide the concept of progress into (1) Material (2) Intellectual and (3) Moral progress. That the Western races have advanced further in material progress than the other peoples may readily be granted. The case with intellectual and moral progress however, is not to be so easily decided. It is here that we come upon a deadlock in the application of the concept of progress to the various peoples. Another vital point that comes up for consideration here is the question as to which of these three is the most important form of progress. Is material progress the more important than the other two combined or singly, or vice-versa? Here is what an important

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writer on sociology has to say about this subject: [2]

"(1) Social progress is theoretically possible. (2) But it is not necessary or inevitable or inherent in the nature of things. (3) Social progress is a term used with reckless imprecision: many phenomena are called progress, or are confused with it, which have little kinship with it either in fact or theory. (4).....(5) Social progress is a complex, more or less organic, and cannot be interpreted in terms of any one set of factors or conditioning phenomena."

Regarding the criteria of progress the same writer says:[3]

"As the net result of all this discussion we come to the conclusion, that an interest in human well-being is the basic test for social progress in any legitimate sense of the word."

Now, in the history of Imperialism, the judge of the progress of another nation has always been the imperialist nation - the interested party - and force has generally been its test of progress. Says Mr. Harrison, a former Governor-General of the Philippines:[4]

"It was not until the superiority of the white man's armaments became established that the total incapacity and unworthiness of the Asiatics to govern their own countries became the accepted creed. One after another, the Oriental monarchs were overthrown by the less cultivated but more vigorous Europeans."

The Germanic tribes who destroyed the Western Roman Empire, the Turkish invaders who destroyed the Eastern Empire and the Pathan hordes who ravaged Northern India might as well have advocated their "superiority" as the justification of their

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2 Todd, A.J. Theories of Progress, Intriduction p. VIII.

3 Ibid. p. 147.

4 Harrison, F.B. The Cornerstone of Philippine Independencies, page 322.

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Imperialism, had they known such idealistic arguments at that time or had they ever needed to justify their actions. We must also notice that Poland, Czechoslovakia and other new states in Europe, which were unfit to govern themselves before the war suddenly acquired this ability after the war, when their masters could no longer force their superiority upon them. The same thing was said about the thirteen American colonies when they were in the British Empire.

The scientific opinion on the superiority of one nation over the other has however been different. Says a great anthropologist on the point:[5]

"Racial inferiority and superiority are by no means self-evident truths. Secondly, the belief in race inequalities is founded in emotion and action and then justified by reasoning. That is, the belief is rationalized not primarily inferred by pure reason. It may be true, but it is not proved true."

On the peculiar political genius of the white races we may quote another distinguished scientist:[6]

"So much indeed have some of them (anthropologists) been impressed with the utter impossibility of generalizations aiming to explain political institutions as an expression of the peculiar genius of particular races that they have abandoned all assumptions of racial differences as factors in political and cultural evolution and seek an explanation in quite other factors."

In spite of this scientific opinion, however, belief in the inherent superiority of certain races has from time to time been

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5 Kroeber, A.L. Anthropology, p. 59.

6 Hankins, F.H. on Race as a factor in Pol. theory, p. 509, in Political Theories in Recent Times by Merriam Barnes and others.

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upheld by various writers. In ancient times, the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans regarded themselves as the superior peoples. In more recent times, however, Gobineau, Houston Steward Chamberlain, Prof. J.W. Burgess, Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard have variously preached the doctrines of Aryanism, Teutonism, Nordicism and Anglo-Saxonism, with remarkable effect on the popular mind. One remarkable fact about these preachers of racial superiority has been, that none of them has been a real scientist. These racialists however err fundamentally in believing in such a thing as a pure race and in ignoring the individual differences in racial groups, which are beyond dispute far more vital than any possible differences (yet unproved) among the different races.[7] Says Prof. Todd on the subject:[8]

"These race theorists usually assume the polygenetic origin of man and certain irreducible race qualities, capable of producing those apparently invincible race antagonisms which they claim form the real stuff of history....But nobody has the slightest evidence of the multiple origin of man. By the blood or the mating test, the human species is a unit. Neither does anybody know that race characters are fixed, nor that races are ineluctably superior or inferior. Most recent studies tend to show exactly the opposite."

But even if we grant for the sake of argument the inherent political genius of certain peoples, we must remember that that factor has never played any part in entering upon imperialist enterprises. The history of Imperialism is replete

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7 Merrian Barnes and others, op. cit. p. 541.

8 Todd, A.J. op. cit. p. 274-278.

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with proofs of this contention. In modern times we have seen Russia, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Italy and even some of the Balkan countries - countries whose political genius not even the die-hard among the imperialists would grant - entering upon imperialistic enterprises. But if it is true that there does exist inherent differences in the political capacity of the various peoples, and if it is desirable that those people possessing the greatest political ability should rule others with less of this capacity, then why should the application of this rule be confined to the peoples of Asia and Africa only? Why should not this principle be applied to the whole world until it is ruled by one single peculiarly endowed people? But here another vital point springs up and we may ask the question as to why should not the peculiarly politically endowed people in every nation be given a monopoly of the political power, and this too, with better reason, because while scientific opinion is unanimous in declaring vast inherent mental differences in the individuals of every national group, nobody but propagandists and demagogues have ever held the doctrine of inherent superiority of one people over that of another. And after all, has not the nobleman's claim to rule the multitude been not the same as this claim of white races to rule the backward proples? The moment we grant this principle we lay an axe at the root of all democratic government. In this respect the autocratic rulers of former ages were far

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more consistent than the imperial democracies of today. But unfortunately, consistency is not one of the attributes of Imperialism. In England, the most successful of all the imperialist countries in the world, the distrust of what is termed as 'logic' as a guide for public conduct is so firmly rooted that nothing is more sure to condemn a course as its being strictly logical. The real truth therefore is, that the same arguments which support the right of the multitude to govern itself, also support the right of the weaker peoples to govern themselves. The underlying principle of democracy and therefore the right of the weaker peoples to govern themselves is beautifully expressed by Mommsen - the great German historian, for whom Caesar represented the highest type of statesman and the wonderful bureaucratic system founded by him as one of the greatest achievements of history - in the following words:[9]

"The history of Caesar and of Roman Imperialism with all the unsurpassed greatness of the master-worker, with all the historical necessity of the work, is in truth a more bitter censure of modern autocracy than could be written by the hand of man. According to the same law of nature in virtue of which the smallest organism infinitely surpasses the most artistic machine, every constitution, however defective, which gives play to the free self-determination of a majority of citizens infinitely surpasses the most brilliant and humane absolutism; for the former is capable of development and therefore living, the latter is what it is and therefore dead."

We may also note the implications of the doctrine of hereditary and acquired characteristics. Scientists are agreed

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9 Quoted in Hobhouse, L.T. Democracy and Reaction, p. 122.

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that while hereditary characteristics are inherited, acquired characteristics are not. Now, we can only believe in the political superiority of a people if we prove that political ability is a hereditary characteristic. According to a prominent psychologist, Mr. Woodworth,[10] native or hereditary characteristics date back to the original constitution of the child, which was fully determined at the time when his individual life began nine months before birth. Whether the white child possesses such a characteristic at such a time has never been determined and at best is highly doubtful. The historical evidence on the point is of course against the white race, because it was not this race which first became civilized and hence evolved some kind of political organization, but such Oriental peoples as the Egyptians, Babylonians, Ninevehans and the ancient Persians. Prof. Merriam, an eminent writer on political theory says on the point of political inheritance:[11]

> "We do not know what the political inheritance of man is, if any, nor do we know to what extent, if any, acquired political characteristics may be transmitted....Most of the efforts to appraise the characteristics of different races or ethnic groups of mankind, has been unscientific, although the study of customs has made some progress."

But if political characteristics of various peoples are acquired, as seems probable, then the weaker peoples can also acquire them by such educational and cultural means as seem

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10 Woodworth, R.S. Psychology, p. 91.

11 Merriam, C.E. New Aspects of Politics, p. 142-43.

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best suited for each. As a matter of fact, they can acquire these traits much more quickly than the so-called "superior" peoples have, because of the additional facilities which our times afford us for such a purpose. This self-evident truth, namely that "the Law of Acceleration is as true in the domain of sociology as in that of physics"[12] has been generally ignored by the imperialists who have frequently asserted that the weaker peoples must pass through the same laborious tortuous processes of self-government through which they themselves have passed.[13]

Now let us give an impartial opinion on the causes of the much advertised "progress" of the Western peoples, and the "backwardness" of the non-whites. The imperialists have frequently ignored the influence of environment in explaining the evolution of the different peoples in the past, yet it is largely in this factor that the <u>past</u> evolution of mankind is to be explained. Of course it is true, that mankind has been gradually freeing itself from the dead influence of environment, but there is no doubt that until recently, environmental influences have chiefly moulded his destiny. Art, political organization, history and various indices of the type of a peoples' growth, have been profoundly influenced by the envir-

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12 Angell, Norman, The Great Illusion, p. 222.

13 G. Ramsay MacDonald's speech in 1924 on India, when he was the Premier of England.

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ormental factor. Of course it is also true, that sometimes mere accidents have profoundly changed the history of a people, but that hardly disproves our contention, which, we may repeat, is that the human evolution in the past has largely been the result of factors which were beyond human control. Says Prof. Todd:[14]

"In short to the historical contingency or environmental agencies, in the largest sense, and not to innate faculty, we must turn for the real causative factor in racial differences and variations in culture."

A factor which belongs to the same environmental category but which especially needs to be emphasized, is the comparative isolation of the Oriental countries in the past from one another and from the rest of the world. While the European peoples profited from one another by a fairly good contact with each other, Oriental and African peoples tended toward self-complacency on account of the absence of such a contact. Contact with diverse civilizations has always tended to stimulate thinking among peoples. It is with this point in view that Tucker says the following:[15]

"It was the sea road which made the Greeks great. Along the highways of Babylon and Persia, uniformity was inevitable, but along the seaways of the Greeks independence blossomed in the foam of every wave."

In Europe whenever a new vigorous movement was started, almost all European countries have been more or less affected by it.

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[14] Todd, A.J. Theories of Social Progress. p. 238.

[15] Tucker, J. History of Imperialism, p. 130.

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Whether it was the philosophy of the Greeks, jurisprudence of the Romans, Reformation by Luther, or democratic institutions of England, all have more or less influenced European countries. That is, the ideas of scientific progress of any European nation became a common property of all Europe to a considerable extent. Not so in the case of the Orient. There, whenever any intellectual movement started in any one Oriental country, it remained almost entirely unknown to other countries or at least did not affect them to any appreciable extent.[16] Thus, roughly speaking, we may say that while the civilization of European countries has been the result of collective effort on the part of Europe, that of the Oriental countries has been the result of the separate efforts of each of these peoples. It is with this point in view that Mr. Bevan says that "the term Western has a positive meaning, because there is a distinctive Western culture, but Oriental peoples have in common only the negative quality of not being Western."[17]

The Oriental peoples have greatly suffered from the lack of contact with each other and with the rest of the world. On the effects of this lack of contact, in the case of races, Professor Todd says:[18]

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16 Buddhism and nomadic invasions that occurred from time to time are however exceptions.

17 In Marvin, W.R. Western Races and the World. p. 49.

18 Theories of Social Progress, p. 310.

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"It is equally true that no race ever survived a period of complete isolation. Even comparative isolation tends to produce in groups that gelatinoid and imbecile sort of mental life which we associate with poor Kaspar Hausar."

We may consequently explain the "progress" of the white peoples and backwardness of the Orientals, not on the basis of race, but on that of environmental grounds.

Sec. 4. Execution of the White Man's Burden.

In Section Three, we considered the question of the inherent superiority of the white races over the non-whites and their alleged divine mission to carry on the White Man's Burden. We found out after our inquiry, that they possess no such superiority. The "progress" that they have made is not due to their inherent superiority but to their environment. The "progress" that they have made, is open to other peoples as well. In this section, however, we will admit, for the sake of argument, that they are fit to carry on the White Man's burden, and enquire whether they have faithfully carried out their alleged duty.

As regards the preaching of Christianity to the heathens, there is no doubt that great efforts have been made and are being made to accomplish this end.[19] The forcible conversions of the Spaniards and the Portuguese in the early part of the modern era, have given place to peaceful propagating of Christianity. In 1922, the Protestant Churches of the world supported

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19 Whether Christianity if a better religion than such Oriental religions as Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism, we will not discuss here.

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about 15,000 foreign missionaries who ministered to the wants of 2,700,000 native communicants and 6,473,000 pupils. The total amount expended on these attempts is over $41,000,000 a year. The Catholic missionary enterprises under the direction of the "Congregation for the propagation of the faith" are probably as great.[20] The missionaries have undoubtedly done good work in educational and material uplift of some of the Oriental peoples. They have quite frequently exposed the cruelties perpetrated on the natives. They have also been of service to some of these peoples in an indirect way, that is, in setting up a healthy rivalry between them and the native churches, and have thus been a powerful factor in the latter's reformation. However, the missionaries have totally failed in their proselyting activities and a definite check has been placed over their activities by the rise of nationalistic movements in the Orient. The European powers have frequently used them for political purposes. This process is beautifully described by Emperor Theodore - a remarkably able ruler of Abyssinia - in a letter to the Roman Catholic missionaries as follows:[21]

"I know the tactics of European governments when they desire to acquire an Eastern State. First they send out missionaries, then consuls to support the missionaries, then battalions to support the consuls. I am not a rajah of Hindustan to be made a mock of in this way. I prefer to have to deal with the battalions straight away."

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20 Buell, R.L. op. cit. p. 303.

21 Quoted in Woolf, L. Empire and Commerce in Africa, p. 145.

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The Jesuits earnestly worked to bring about the annexation of Siam to France in the 17th century, while Dr. Peter Parker's attempts in 1856 to bring Formosa under American protection are well known.[22] The seizing of Kiaochow by Germany in 1898 as a compensation for the murder of two German missionaries in the interior of China is also well known.[23] It is a remarkable fact, that while the missionaries have generally supported the political aspirations of the subject peoples when those subjects are under the domination of another people, especially a people that do not have cordial relations[24] with their nation, they have opposed similar claims of subject peoples, when the latter happen to be under the control of their own countries. But there is another respect in which the missionaries have served the purposes of Imperialism and that is, that in the Orient, and probably in Africa also, where the religious bond is stronger than the racial the conversion of natives to Christianity has meant the creation of a class of people who are too favorably inclined toward their rulers who are also their co-religionists.[25] The pro-European attitude of the native Christians in the Oriental countries explains the hostility of the Oriental peoples to the proselytising activities

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22 Buell, R.L. op. cit. p. 304.

23 Ibid.

24 Such for example is the case with the American missionaries in China and Korea, who champion the cause of Korea and Chinese against Japan.

25. The case in the Philippine Islands, however, is different.

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of the Christian missionaries.

As regards the success attained in the teaching of Western political institutions, no absolute rule can be laid down. The policy followed by the United States has been the most liberal of all the colonial powers. However, European powers have made no attempt to teach these institutions to the African peoples. In Africa, wherever the white man has made his home, the miserable colored peoples have been totally excluded from the franchise. We may say in general that until recently, unchecked autocratic rule held sway in the Asiatic and African dependencies of the Western States. Even today, the governments of India, the whole of Africa (so far as the natives are concerned), the Dutch East Indies, and other dependencies in the two continents, with the exception of the Philippine Islands are essentially autocracies. A critic may argue however, that what little democratic institutions the peoples of the Orient enjoy today are entirely due to the European nations. But there is no doubt however, that the Oriental autocracies have been too much exploited by the imperialist nations.[26] It is forgotten that the people of India and China enjoyed local self-government in the form of village republics at a time, when the ancestors of the modern Americans, Frenchmen, Germans

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26 See Mukerje, Radhahumad. Democracies of the East, Serkar, B. The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus, Goshal, M. A History of Hindu Pol. Theories.

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and Englishmen roamed naked in the wild forests of Germany. The ruin of these village republics in India is one of the gravest indictments against Imperialism.[27] Another point that such a critic is likely to forget is, that the spread of democratic ideas which has forced these nations to concede some measure of democracy to the subject peoples is not due to the efforts of their alien governments but to the infiltration of those democratic ideas throughout the world, which modern conditions have made inevitable. Even if the European nations had never ruled any of these weaker nations, such ideas would have spread in these countries with the establishment of better means of communication and the spread of education, which contrary to imperialist assumption the native governments would have undertaken. With all the faults of democracy - and the writer makes no fetish of democracy - it may be asserted, that it is the most natural thing in the world. It was therefore inevitable that in the course of human evolution, with the gradual economic and intellectual emancipation of the masses, the desire for a share in the government of their country must spring from the masses of every country. Furthermore, we must note that in no case have the imperialistic nations granted any measure of democratic government to their subject peoples, until after hard agitation on the part of the latter, which has virtually

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27 Hobson, J.A. Imperialism, p. 312.

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compelled them to do so. When one of the imperialist powers has followed a more liberal policy toward her subjects, the others have felt "embarrassed" by its policy. Thus, in an interview which Mr. Harrison, the Governor General of the Philippines from 1913-1921, had with Lord Chelmsford, the liberal viceroy of India, the latter, in answer to the former's observation that the retention of the Philippines without their consent had compromised the principles on which the United States constitution was based, replied: "Well, if that embarrassed your country, you have no idea how much your Philippine policy has embarrassed us."[26] Yet there would be very few people who would maintain that the Philippines being more advanced than the people of India, deserved this better treatment. The hypocritical intention of teaching democratic institutions of the West is further revealed by the fact, that the imperialist nations have scrupulously kept out the teaching of political science from public schools and universities in their dependencies. Yet in their home countries, the teaching of such a subject has long been recognized as the true foundation of the successful working of democratic institutions. In India the teaching of such subjects as the History of England or the History of Modern Europe has been regarded by the official class as dangerous.

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[26] Quoted in Harrison, F.B. The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence, p. 321-322.

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But even the ordinary elementary education has been sadly neglected by most of these powers. Says Mr. Hobson:[29] "The chief indictment of imperialism in relation to the lower races consists in this, that it does not even pretend to apply to them the principles of education and of progress it applies at home." The percentages of illiteracy in some of these dependencies are the best indices as to the real success of the Imperialist peoples in this respect. The following are the percentages of illiteracy in the dependencies given below:[30]

Country	Percentage of Illiterates
Ceylon (non-European races)	78.4
India	92.1
Philippine Islands	55.5
Russia..(Asiatic)	87.3
Hawaii	26.8
Dutch East Indies	....
French Indo-China	....
Straits Settlements	....
Korea	....
Formosa	....
Algeria	....
Egypt	92.7
Union of South Africa (Non-European races)	88.2

As in other things, so in education, the American record has been the best of all. The figures speak for the other nations. In the case of India, which is undoubtedly the greatest dependency in the world, the record in education is one of the worst.

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29 Imperialism, p. 256.

30 World Almanac, 1926, p. 756. Figures for all these countries are not available.

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The British have been here for the last hundred and fifty years, and yet only eight percent of the people can read and write. If the White Man's Burden was to be carried out at this speed, the White Man would probably be carrying such a load forever.

Another ideological reason advanced by the Imperialists has been, that it is their duty to alleviate the sufferings of the "backward" peoples. To rescue them from famines, epidemics, their own barbarous customs, and their terrible poverty, have been some of the items in the ideological program of the imperialists. Here, again we must remember, that with the exception of the United States, very little has been accomplished by these nations. Of course it is true, that some of the cruel practices such as human sacrifices and intertribal warfare in Africa have been stopped by the Europeans. But that however is after all a minor item in the imposing ideological program. The expenditures on sanitation in most of the dependencies are notoriously low. Since the people have not been well educated and their material conditions not much improved, they are still a prey to epidemics and devastating famines.[31] In the case of India, it is the contention of some writers, even of Englishmen like Mr. William Digby, that the famines have increased

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31 For example, more than 12 million people died in India in the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919. Whitaker's Almanac, 1926, p. 598.

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since the British occupation.[32] The average income of the people of India according to official estimates made in 1904 was only two pounds or ten dollars a year.[33] This comes to about three cents per capita daily. Regarding the efforts of European nations to modify and reform the native customs and institutions, it must be remembered that they have normally adopted the policy of laissez faire in this respect. The English - the most imperialist of all nations - have gone further in this respect than most other peoples. Their general attitude has been to maintain silence on these matters for fear of provoking political discontent among the masses. The enlightened native opinion has generally brought pressure upon these governments to interfere in such cases rather than vice-versa.

Another ideological argument that the imperialists have advanced for Imperialism is, that by following such a policy they are advancing the cause of world peace. The lesser the number of states in the world, the lesser ground would there be for international friction and warfare. Since it is only the white nations who at the present time are capable of performing such a task, it is their peculiar duty to the rest of

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32 For statistics of famines see Rai, Lajpat, England's Debt to India, p. 265.

33 Rai, Lajpat, op. cit. p. 3.

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the world, to do so. We will again take up this question of the relation of Imperialism to War in Part III, but here we only need to point out that far from succeeding in this goal, Imperialism has been a frequent cause of international warfare. In one aspect, however, it has been more successful and that is in bringing internal peace to some of the countries which it has brought under its sway. Nevertheless, even this aspect of Imperialism has been exaggerated. Because some of the countries in which it has brought about internal peace, were countries in which no idea of nationality existed, when they indulged in such suicidal warfare. With the development of such an idea, this fratricidal strife was sooner or later bound to disappear. Therefore, while this internal peace has been a fortunate aspect of Imperialism, its accomplishment would not have been impossible, if these weaker peoples had never been subjected to Imperialism.

Having pointed out that the imperialist nations have failed to carry out the implications of such an altruistic principle as White Man's Burden we may now point out what it has really meant in practice. We have already pointed out that the missionaries have frequently been used for political purposes. White Man's Burden has also meant the ruthless slaughter of the natives in places which unfortunately turned out to be inhabitable by the white man. The extermination of the Indians in the United States, the slaughter of the natives

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of Tasmania, New Zealand and Australia, is one of the principal indictments against Imperialism. An amusing incident of such slaughtering activities is revealed by the fact that in Australia as late as 1836, when eleven men were tried and seven hanged for the massacre of between thirty and forty natives at Myall Creek, they pleaded, "that in killing blacks they were not aware that they were violating the law."[34] Incidentally it may be mentioned here, that this ruthless slaughtering of the natives has been specially a peculiar genius of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Still in other cases, native lands have been confiscated and given away to the white settlers. The application of the doctrine of eminent domain has been used to dispossess natives of valuable agricultural and mineral lands. How knavishly this has been accomplished by entering into "treaties" with native chiefs is well illustrated in the case of Africa.[35] It may be laid down as a general rule, that wherever in Negroid Africa, the white man has chosen to make a home for himself, the natives have been relegated to the barren reserves. The average native reserve in some cases is as low as 4.6 acres (Transvaal and Orange Free States) and nowhere more than 12.6 acres (Cape) as compared with the enormous farms held

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34 Courtney, W.L. and J.E. Pillars of Empire, p. 199.

35 Hobson, J.A. op. cit. p. 272.

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34 Courtney, W.L. and J.E. Pillars of Empire, p. 199.

35 Hobson, J.A. op. cit. p. 272.

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by the Europeans. It is estimated that in South Africa, only 13% of the land is set aside for 4,500,000 natives while 87% is reserved for 1,500,000 whites.[36] A remarkable instance of land expropriation was that of the 500,000 natives of Southern Rhodesia. This expropriation according to Mr. J.H. Harris "is the most complete in history."[37] In Africa, the Germans followed the same policy of driving the natives off the land, and to a certain extent the same policy has been followed by Japan in the case of Korea. The natives have also been subjected to forced labor, and for this purpose, slavery, forced and imported labor, excessive taxation and land confiscation have been the chief methods employed. Mr. Woolf, a keen student of Imperialism says on this point:[39]

"In every tropical African possession the expropriation, exploitation and virtual enslavement of the native inhabitants have been demanded by the white settlers and capitalists and everywhere except in British East Africa this is being accomplished."

White Man's Burden has in practice also meant the deriving of those economic advantages by the various classes that we considered in the last chapter. The plundering of the subject countries was most ruthless in the first part of the mod-

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36 Lewin, Evans, The Black Cloud in Africa Foreign Affairs, July, 1926.

37 In Marvin, W.R. Western Races and the World, p. 223.

38 Buell, R.L. op. cit. p. 322.

39 Economic Imperialism, p. 68.

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ern era, when the functions of administration and commercial private gain were combined in the form of the various colonial companies enjoying exclusive trade and administrative privileges in those colonies. The East India Company was one of these companies, and its exploits the people of India have not forgotten up to this day. It was one of the servants of this company - Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of the Company's territories in India - who declared in the House of Lords:[40]

"My lords, when I think of the marvelous riches of that country (India) and the comparatively small part which I took away, I am astonished at my own moderation."

The imperialist races have also established this White Man's burden in the form of overbearing attitude towards the natives. The contempt with which they have always looked upon the"natives" is known to all observers who have ever been in any of these dependencies. Of course some nations have exhibited more of this attitude towards the natives than the others. Here again, it has been the genius of the Anglo-Saxon peoples to excel other nations in their overbearing attitude toward the "natives." And strange to say, the racial hatred has been strongest in places where the white man has settled down amidst a population of natives. But according to the principle of the White Man's burden, the opposite

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40 Quoted in India's Viceroys from Clive to Reading in Current History, June, 1926.

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ought to have been the case. In the United States, especially in the Southern States, the negroes are debarred from the franchise by various unconstitutional methods. In South Africa, they are strictly barred from the voting privileges. The Fundamental law of the Transvaal Republic in 1858 declared that "The people will not tolerate equality between colored and white inhabitants, either in church or in state."[41] In the Union of South Africa, the natives have long been barred from doing any kind of skilled work, owing to the existence of customary colored bar. The Union Parliament however recently passed a bill popularly known as the "Color Bar Bill," which makes this color bar still more strong. Says Lord Olivier, the ex-Secretary of State for India:[42]

"It (Color Bar Bill) is in effect an outspoken declaration of a war of enslavement against the natives and Asiatics, prescribing that in no industry using mechanical power and in no other that this government (in which they have no franchise) may hereafter designate are they to be allowed to work except as unskilled laborers or to be deemed competent of exercising the abilities they possess, or of profiting by technical education."

Regarding the viciousness of the measure the same authroity says, in the article already referred to:

"No enactment so abominable and so insane could be discovered among the records of legislation in British communities since slave-owners ceased to struggle against the tide of the human will to freedom....If passed, it will assuredly be remembered as a land-mark in history."

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41 Quoted in Willoughby, W.C. Race Problems in New Africa,p.223.

42 Firing the Haystacks, New Statesman, Feb. 20, 1926.

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The perfectly miserable position in which the natives of South Africa find themselves is further described by Mr. Evans Lewin, the Librarian of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, in the following words:[43]

"To state the position frankly and concisely, it must be admitted that the impact of European civilization upon the natives in South Africa has been disastrous, because there the native can only be assimilated into the social system as a helot rather than as a sharer in the full benefit of white civilization.....The black man in South Africa is a man entrapped. The white man is tending to become an aristocrat in the center of a civilization that may be compared with the slave-holding states of antiquity and where in the future he may only remain as a master existing on the sufferance of his servants."

Sec. 5. The Problem of Human Nature.

Several of the above evils are, of course, inevitable in Imperialism. Human beings are essentially selfish and consequently, human nature will ever be an eternal obstacle in the carrying out of such an altruistic policy as the White Man's burden. The Great Powers will never be ready to cut each other's throats in their anxiety to carry this White Man's burden. We are not yet sufficiently civilized to undertake such a task. Says Mr. Hobson :[44]

"The notorious fact that half the friction between European nations arises from conflicting claims to undertake the office 'trustee for civilization' over lower races and their possessions augurs ill alike for the sincerity of the profession and the moral capacity to fulfill it. It is surely no mark of cynicism to question closely this extreme anxiety to bear one another's burden among the nations."

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43 Black Cloud in Africa, Foreign Affairs, July, 1926.

44 Imperialism, p. 251.

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The contention that Imperialism is not undertaken because of any purely altruistic purpose, but because of the "mutual" benefits that accrue to the rulers and the ruled, is merely a euphemism for the predominantly unilateral benefits that go to the imperialist nation. Because the judge of such "mutual interests" is always the ruler nation and it tends to regard its own interests as far above those of the subject peoples. Furthermore, do not these "mutual interests" conflict fundamentally; because while it is the interest of the imperialist nation to perpetuate these "mutual" interests - to perpetuate its tutelage - the interest of the subject nation is to end this tutelage as quickly as possible. Sir Frederic Lugard who calls this process a "dual mandate"[45] might as well have called it a Triple Mandate - the third from the human race as a whole - and that with more justification, although the antagonism of the three mandates would have been more clear. However, the fact is, that if in history, it has been impossible to find monarchs who would carry on the "dual mandate" - one on behalf of themselves and the other on behalf of their subjects - faithfully in their own countries, it would also be impossible to find any imperialist nation which would perform faithfully such a "dual" mandate as Lugard terms the process of Imperialism. Even the

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[45] Lugard, P. The Dual Mandate in Africa, p. 617.

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most convinced of the imperialists have admitted the discrepancy between the profession and actual practice of the imperialist nations. Says Sir Harry Johnston,[46] one of the greatest authorities on colonial affairs and a convinced imperialist:

"The worst feature of the contrary account on the debit side were the Spanish cruelties to the Amerindians in the West Indies, Central America and Peru; the Dutch cruelties in the West African slave trade, the killing of the harmless Bevthuks of Newfoundland between 1730 and 1830, and the destruction of the Tasmanian aborigines in the first half of the nineteenth century.

. . . . . .

We the British have taken away unjustly land from settled agricultural Negroes in South and West Africa; the Dutch settlers in Cape Colony were often heartless toward Bushmen and Hottentots in the closing years of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth centuries. The methods employed by the Russian army in the conquest of Central Asia between 1873 and the outbreak of the Boer War, and in China, were most reprehensible."

It was with these things in mind that John Stuart Mill, the great utilitarian philosopher of the nineteenth century declared:[47]

"The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another as a warren or a preserve for its own use, a place to make money in; a human cattle farm, to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants, but if the good of the governed is the proper business of the government, it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it."

We will give another quotation from another well-known writer,

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46 Johnston, Sir Harry. Backward Peoples and our Relations with them. p. 57-58.

47 Representative Government, p. 326.

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which summarizes the conclusions of this chapter in a fine manner:[46]

"For Europe to rule Asia by force for purposes of gain and to justify that rule by the pretence that she is civilizing Asia and raising her to a higher level of spiritual life, will be adjudged by history, perhaps, to be the crowning wrong and folly of Imperialism. What Asia has to give, her priceless stores of wisdom garnered from her experiences of ages, we refuse to take; the much or little which we could give we spoil by the brutal manner of our giving. This is what Imperialism has done and is doing to Asia."

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[46] Hobson, J.A. Imperialism, p. 346.

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Chapter VII.

Other Motives of Imperialism

Sec. 1. Sentimental Reasons.

When Aristotle defined man as a rational animal, he certainly exaggerated the rational nature of man, if we are to interpret his words literally. The philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also made a mistake in believing in the rational and noble nature of man. In fact, the whole philosophy of laissez faire was based on this belief. The pendulum however, began to swing the other way in the nineteenth century. And modern psychologists now hold human beings as mainly moved by emotion and impulse rather than by any rational process. As a matter of fact, this discovery of modern psychology is one of the strongest arguments against democracy and has been a powerful factor in the reaction that of late, has set in against it. An amusing instance of the impulsive nature of man has been recorded by Prof. E.M. Earle who says that during the Smyrna crisis of 1922, more Americans petitioned the White House and the Department of State for war against Turkey than at any other time in the whole history of the country, including the Lusitania incident; and that

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1 The criticism of democracy by Sir Henry Maine for example was mainly founded on this basis.

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too, when the majority of these people had absolutely no idea where Smyrna was.[2] The sentimental factor therefore, has been an important element as a motivating force of Imperialism. In ancient times as we have pointed out already, it played more part than it does now. According to Ramsay Muir, national pride which seeks to express itself in the establishment of its dominion over less highly organized peoples, is still the most important factor in Imperialism. He says:[3]

"In the exultation which follows the achievement of national unity each of the nation-states in turn, if the circumstances were all favorable, has been tempted to impose its power upon its neighbors or even seek the mastery of the world.....Nationalism then, with its eagerness for dominion may be regarded as the chief source of imperialism."

That romantic adventurer, Mr. Lugard expresses the same thing when he says - "We hold these (tropical) countries because it is the genius of our race to colonize, to trade and to govern!"[4] The Englishmen remark with pride that the "Sun never sets on the British Empire." These sentimentalists believe that the existence of a vast empire reflects glory upon the home country - being a creation of the great genius of their peoples. Then there is the desire to play the part of a Great Power in the councils of the nations. It tickles the

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2 Turkey's coming of Age, by E.P. MacCallum and E,M, Earl, in Asia, June, 1926.

3 The Expansion of Europe, p. 4-5.

4 The Dual Mandate, p. 618-619.

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fancy of Englishmen to remember that without the consent of their own nation, no important question of international relations can be decided. To lose this empire or to fail to extend it when other nations are doing so, would, therefore, be a great national calamity, since it might reduce the mother-country to the status of a third-rate power, which is to be viewed with horror.[5] Of course, there are also material advantages expected in being a citizen of a great and powerful empire but we are not concerned with them here, since we took them up in Chapter V. Similar motives exercise other nations, whether it be France, Germany, Netherlands, Italy, Portugal or Spain, whose past glory is another factor in the situation. Regarding the French in Indo-China Mr. Harrison says:[6]

"The French colonists there all suffer from home-sickness and spend their days in longing for a return to la belle France. When asked why they hold the colonies, they reply - 'All the Great Powers have colonies, so we must have our share.'"

Another closely allied motive of Imperialism has been the spirit of adventure. This has always been very prominent among the motives that have impelled men to seek new fields of activity, through colonial enterprises. These adventurers have either been geographical explorers such as Livingstone,

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[5] Even Prof. Seeley held this idea. See Bodelsen, C.A. op.cit. p. 171.

[6] The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence, p. 339.

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Stanley, Nichtsgal and others, or those people who have gained wealth or political power through their adventures. To this class have belonged such men as La Salle, DeSoto, Pizzaro, Cortez, Sir Josiah Child, Sir Stanford Raffles, Rajah Brooke, Lord Cromer, Sir Andrews Clarke, Sir George T. Goldie and Cecil Rhodes. And lastly, they have been military men stationed at frontier posts. To this category have belonged such people as Faidherbe, Count de Brazza, Sir William Sandeman and Muravieff Amierski.[7]

Sec. 2. Military and Strategic Reasons.

Another important factor in Imperialism especially in modern times has been the military and strategic one. One of its phases has been to regard empires as great reservoirs of man-power which may be used for political purposes. The more acute the desire of a power to extend its territory, the more urgent has been this necessity of possessing a great man-power. And it is of course true, that all other things being equal, a nation which has the greater man-power will win in a trial of strength. France especially has been anxious to make up for her low rate of population-increase, by acquiring territory in Africa wherefrom she could import her Negro subjects to fight her battles in Europe.

Another aspect of the military motive has been the de-

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7 Reinsch, P. Colonial Government.

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sire to acquire scientific frontiers. Rome tried for such scientific frontiers and according to Lord Bryce her failure to do so in the North and East ultimately destroyed her.[6] In India, the British continued the policy of conquest until they reached the natural frontiers of the country. Even at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, considerable attention was given to natural frontiers, although not much could be accomplished in this respect. But the whole argument for natural frontiers, like that of other military and strategic arguments, is a vicious one, because there cannot be set any natural limit beyond which it will not be called upon to support expansionist claims. With the expansion of an empire, its natural frontiers would change, and if a claim on that basis is conceded for further expansion, the empire may one day embrace the whole world, or at least contiguous continents.

A similar motive of Imperialism is the desire to possess coaling stations, naval bases and in more recent times, aerodromes and suitable places for building wireless stations and laying marine cables. For the protection of these coaling stations or naval bases, more territory in suitable positions must be acquired. The British Empire is the most fortunate in the possession of these strategical places. Gibralter, Malta, Aden and Singapore are some of the most important of these

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6 Bryce, James; Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India, p. 14.

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coaling and naval stations. In order to keep open the Suez Canal, England controls Egypt and Sudan on one hand and Palestine on the other. For the same purpose, she is laying her hands over Abyssinia, who recently protested to the League of Nations against the recent conclusion of the Anglo-Italian agreement regarding her. When the Suez Canal was not built, England acquired the Cape Peninsula, in order to protect her sea-route to India. The United States possesses the Panama Canal, for the protection of which she has brought the Caribbean countries under her economic and political hegemony. The same strategic reasons, although to a very less extent, have played in the acquisition of Tripoli, Algeria and Tunis by Italy and France. Russia's historic mission of acquiring Constantinople whose strategic position to her would have been no less important than its economic value, is well known. The Hawaiian Islands have great value to the United States, although the Philippines form a weak link from that point of view.[9]

Finally, another motive of this nature has been the desire to forestall other nations from acquiring territory which was likely to be of any strategic and military value. The Ethiopian Africa (territory around Abyssinia) may be taken as an illustration of this fact.

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9 Harrison, P.B. op. cit., p. 311.

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Sec. 3. Administrative Reasons.

The desire to carve out vast fields where the administrative and political genius of a people may be exercised, has played no mean part in imperialistic enterprises. It is believed that vast empires serve as excellent laboratories for conducting administrative and military experiments, which are of great benefit to the home country. Says Mr. Dilke, the romantic exponent of the "Saxon" race:[10]

"Furthermore, the dependencies form a nursery of our statesmen and the English people could not without loss to the national character give up its task of governing and educating the inhabitants of backward countries."

In this respect, Englishmen possess considerable advantage over other peoples. However, it is not a substantial motive of Imperialism, since such administrative and military experiments can be and often are conducted at home, although it is true that the greater scope an empire offers for such purposes is an advantage, in this respect.

Sec. 4. "Scientific" Grounds of Imperialism.

The "scientific" argument for Imperialism brings forth the Darwinian doctrine of the survival of the fittest, and applies it to sociology. The argument runs: that since in the history of man, as throughout nature, stronger races have continuously trampled down, enslaved and exterminated other races, and as the survival of the fittest is a biblogically proven

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[10] Quoted in Bodelsen, C.A. Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism, p. 67.

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principle, and has been the prime condition and mode of progress in the past, therefore it is desirable that it should not be interfered with. Now, the imperialist nations represent the fittest and the rules, the least fit nations. Therefore, Imperialism is justified on "scientific" grounds and must continue in future as it has in the past.[11] War is a test of the survival of the fittest and hence, must continue if the human race is to continue progressing. Consequently, the effort to abolish war and Imperialism is not only doomed to failure since it attempts to accomplish the impossible, to abolish the established biological rule of the survival of the fittest - but is also ill-advised and foolish as it attempts to root out a great means of human progress. Such views, or almost similar views have been held by such men as Benjamin Kidd, Bernhardi, Treitschke, Professor Karl Pearson, Professor Spencer Wilkinson, Homer Lea, Moltke, Renan and Roosevelt. But we must remember that Darwin himself repudiated the application of his doctrine of survival of the fittest to sociology. For he says:[12]

> "Nor could we check our sympathy, if so urged by hard reason, without deterioration in the noblest part of our nature.....if we were intentionally to neglect the weak and helpless, it could only be for a contingent benefit, with a certain and great present evil."

Therefore, we may truly say that "Social Darwinism" is tortur-

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11 Hobson, J.A. Imperialism, p. 166.

12 Quoted in Todd, Theories of Social Progress, p. 248-249.

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11 Hobson, J.A. Imperialism, p. 166.

12 Quoted in Todd, Theories of Social Progress, p. 248-249.

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ing of Darwin's ideas. Long ago the great scientist Huxley pointed out the cleavage between society and Nature. He said that while the barbarous principle of the survival of the fittest is in operation in Nature, its action in society is interrupted by the interference of society, whose status in civilization is judged by the degree of success it has attained in this direction.[13] But these social Darwinists make a fundamental mistake, when they argue the necessity of struggle for existence, from the sub-human to the human species, because while one is incapable of any cooperation among themselves, the other is. Furthermore, the whole argument advocating the necessity of war and expansion as means of healthy competition and growth, labors under the fallacy that there is only one sort of national efficiency and that it is tested by a contest of military or commercial power.[14] Says Mr. Todd:[15]

"The prevention of destitution, the elimination of the criminal, the cure of superstition, the prevention of disease, the development of clean politics, the destruction of the philosophy and art of 'graft', the reduction of profiteering, the attainment of a high standard of sex purity in young men, the disengagement of the discussion and handling of interracial problems from the domain of the mob-mind - all these and many others are enterprises worthy of the combative powers of any vigorous youth and sure to test every ounce of energy in him."

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13 Huxley, The Struggle for Existence in Human Society in Nineteenth Century, Jan. 1888, p. 198.

14 Hobson, J.A. op. cit.

15 Theories of Social Progress, p. 306-307.

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In other words we may say that this school forgets the existence of what William James called "the immemorial warfare of man against Nature." Says Mr. Hobson:[16]

> "In other words, the tendency of growing civilization on the national scale has been to divert the struggle for life from a struggle with other nations to a struggle with environment, and so to utilize the fruits of reason as to divert a larger and larger proportion of energy to struggles for intellectual, moral and esthetic goods rather than for goods which tax the powers of the earth, and which, conforming to the law of diminishing returns, are apt to bring them into conflict with other nations."

The whole principle of the survival of the fittest further fails to take into account the important question of survival of the fittest under given conditions. For example, the failure to take into account the special conditions under which the Roman Empire fell before the Germanic barbarians would result in concluding that the Germanic barbarians and their institutions were better fitted to survive than the Romans and their institutions. But here, we may ask this important question. Have we really applied the principle of survival of the fittest to society? Surely, the existence of the state and church is the negation of this principle. No sane man would think of abolishing these institutions and yet that is what Social Darwinism would imply. Even in the case of international relations, cooperation between nations is increasingly taking the place of antagonism, hostility and war-

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16 Imperialism, p. 194.

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fare, and we may just as well say with Kropotkin that "sociability is as much a law of nature as mutual struggle."[17] We may consequently conclude that the "scientific" argument of Imperialism is no defense of that institution, and in practice, very few imperialists have ever used this argument.

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[17] Quoted in Todd, A.J. Theories of Social Progress, p. 16.

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PART III.

Effects of Imperialism

Chapter VIII. Upon the Imperialist Nations

Sec. 1. Classification of the Effects of Imperialism.

We may consider the effects of Imperialism from a dual point of view, that is, the effects upon the imperialist nations and the effects upon the ruled. In this chapter, we shall take up the effects of the first category, while in the chapter that follows, we will consider the effects belonging to the second class. For the sake of clarity, we have divided the effects upon the imperialist nations into the following three classes.

1. Effects upon home politics.
2. Moral effects.
3. Effects upon international relations.

Sec. II. Effects on Home Politics.

One of the commonest effects of Imperialism upon home politics, is the subordination of domestic to foreign politics. To that intangible but none the less vital and real thing - the pride of race and nationality - a "spirited" foreign policy has always made a peculiar appeal. Lord Chatham and Lord Beaconsfield, who followed such a spirited foreign policy with apparent success, became the idols of their people, at least for the time being. But nevertheless, it is a mistake to ascribe the love of "spirited" foreign policy to any particular

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people, because this love of glory is inherent in all human beings. Whether it be Alexander, Caesar, Louis the XIV, Frederic the Great or Napoleon, they have all humored their respective peoples by their military exploits, which have always created a superlatively pleasant sensation in their minds. With the advent of democracy, the exploits of a military genius or a diplomat, have become the causes of gratification to the masses, more than ever before. Now, the effect of following such a policy on home politics is, that it tends to be subordinated to the exigencies of foreign politics, and it is a notorious fact, that those periods in the history of a nation which have been most famous for the pursuit of a "spirited" policy, are the periods which are most dull in domestic politics. The great and lasting reform in England was effected only in the era of liberalism, when public interest was centralized on home questions and when imperial and colonial interests were in the background.[1] The opponents of domestic reform, whether political, economic or social, have frequently taken advantage of the psychological appeal that a strong foreign policy has on the minds of the masses, and have thus effectively killed all attempts at such a reform, by diverting the attention of the people to foreign issues. The tottering autocracies at home have frequently resorted to imperialistic adventures in order

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1 Reinsche, P.S. World Politics, p. 350.

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to save themselves.[2] Furthermore, every social reform involves some attack on vested interests and these can best defend themselves when active Imperialism absorbs public attention. Heavy military expenditures, which are the inevitable concomitants of Imperialism, afford further ground for not taking up the unostentatious but nevertheless most vital work of domestic reform.[3] The inherent opposition of social reform and Imperialism may be readily seen by the study of some interesting facts that Mr. Buell has gathered on this point.[4] He has estimated that between 1900-1920, fourteen leading powers expended 61 1/2 billion pounds for war-like expenditures compared with only 46 million pounds for all other purposes, social or otherwise. In 1900, the total national debts of these fourteen countries stood at four billion pounds, while in 1920 they had increased to more than 53 billion pounds. In other words, while the expenditure on war-like purposes was nearly equal to the total national wealth of the United States, that for all other purposes was $\frac{7}{10,000}$ of this sum. However, some imperialists like Prof. Giddings, have pointed out that by increasing national responsibility, Imperialism will purify the public services and morale and wisdom of administration at home. In support of this view, the example of Great Britain is cited, the purity of its civil

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2 Napoleon III may be cited as an instance of this nature.

3 Hobson, J.A. op. cit. p. 147-152.

4 International Relations, p. 194.

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service being ascribed to the tonic effect of continuously expanding responsibility.[5] Such a view, however, ignores the fact that the primary tendency of unchecked expansion is generally an increase of the speculative and reckless spirit and corruption in public affairs, though of course, other factors may modify the situation. But it must be noted that English experience has not been of the nature suggested in the considerations given above. As a matter of fact, after two hundred years of expansion, and up to the very close of the eighteenth century, English civil service and the general political life of England were as corrupt as ever.[6] The great and lasting reform as we have pointed out already, was effected only in the era of liberalism, when public interest was concentrated on home questions and when imperial and colonial interests were in the background.

The effect on the working of democratic institutions at home is no less disastrous. We may truly say with Hobson that "representative institutions are ill adapted for Empire, as regards men or methods."[7] The growth of one man's power is one of the accompaniments of imperial expansion, and we may roughly say, that periods of vigorous colonial expansion have corresponded with those of one man's power. The remoteness of

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5 Reinsch, Paul S. World Politics, p. 349.

6 Ibid, p. 350.

7. Imperialism, p. 153.

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the colonial territories, total ignorance of an average citizen about their affairs and their bearing upon international relations make it inevitable that the power on these subjects should be entrusted to a few individuals on the spot, in practice almost entirely independent of anybody else. By that however, we do not mean to imply that any such principles can be successfully followed as are commonly associated with the name of Jacksonian Democracy; but only this, that colonial questions do tend to curtail the legitimate sphere of democracy. Another phase of the same situation is the gaining of power by the Executive at the expense of the Legislature. In federal states, the federal government gains power at the expense of the state governments. Now, if the supremacy of the legislature over other departments of government, and a sound system of local self-government, are the two cardinal principles of democracy, any encroachment upon them by any other agency, cannot be viewed with satisfaction by the friends of democracy. But Imperialism poisons the springs of democracy at home in another way and that is, that the process is attended by a decay of party spirit and party action and an insistence on the part of autocracy, whether it be a Kaiser or Cabinet, that all effective party criticism is unpatriotic and verges on treason.[8] But if a sound party system is one of the fundamentals of the successful working of democracy, its deterioration is

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[8] Hobson, J.A. op. cit. p. 153.

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not to be viewed with complacency.

The effects of militarism - the inevitable concomitant of Imperialism - are no less disastrous on the working of democracy. The effect of war in curtailing the scope of democracy is well known. But the still more important effect of militarism is the reaction that follows a great war. The financial, economic and social wreck into which militarism leads nations, shake the very foundations of democracy. We have a living example of this in Europe, where in such countries as Spain, Italy, Poland, Belgium and France, democracy has been put to the severest test, largely as a result of the problems which were chiefly due to the Great War. But apart from this, the soldiers - the torch-bearers of militarism - exert a pernicious influence over the working of democracy. The contempt with which they view democracy is almost a universal trait of their breed. Says Prof. Hobson:[9]

"There exists an absolute antagonism between the activity of the good citizen and that of the soldier. The end of the soldier is not, as is sometimes falsely said, to die for his country.....This end, the slaughter of his fellow-men, forms a professional character, alien from, and antagonistic to, the character of our ordinary citizen, whose work conduces to the preservation of his fellow-men."

The psychological reaction of military life are indeed notorious and even those who realize the absolute necessity of keeping an army do not deny that it unfits a man for civil life.

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[9] Hobson, J.A. op. cit. p. 140.

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Says Mr. March-Phillips:[10]

"Soldiers as a class (I take the twon-bred, slum-bred majority mind) are men who have discarded the civil standard of morality altogether. They simply ignore it. This, no doubt, why civilians fight shy of them.....In soldiers' eyes lying, theft, drunkenness, bad language, etc., are not evils at all. They steal like jackdaws. As to language, I used to think the language of a merchant ship's fo'c'sle pretty bad, but the language of Tommies, in point of profanity, quite equals, and, in point of obscenity, beats it hollow. This department is a specialty of his. Lying he treats with the same large charity. To lie like a trooper is quite a sound metaphor."

A keen observer, Mr. S.P. Orth, who has visited Germany says about the effects of militarism upon that country:[11] "I believe there is apparent a decadence in habits, in morals, in ideals, in research and in art."

Still there is another point from which Imperialism and democracy seem to be working inharmoniously and that is, that the former further increases the growth in the inequalities of wealth, with all that it implies in the working of democracy. Lord Chatham, one of the two[12] greatest British statesmen of the eighteenth century, said in speaking of the use of colonial wealth in English politics:[13]

"For some years past there has been an influx of wealth into this country which has been attended by many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular natural produce of labor and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured

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10 Quoted in Hobson, J.A. op. cit. p. 141.

11 The Imperial Impulse, p. 29.

12 The other was Edmund Burke.

13 Reinsch, P.S. op. cit., p. 350.

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in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into Parliament by such a torrent of corruption as no private hereditary fortune could resist."

Sec. 3. Moral Effects.

The moral effects of Imperialism upon the ruler nation are no less injurious. One of the commonest forms in which they exhibit themselves is the development of the hypocritical attitude. While Imperialism is undertaken entirely for selfish reasons, the imperialists hide the real motives by declaring that it is undertaken entirely or largely on altruistic grounds, or, which is an euphemism for the same thing, "for mutual advantages." A statement of this nature which must excite laughter among all thinking peoples, was recently made by General Wood, the Governor-General of the Philippines, who is reported to have said: "Destiny brought us here, and we will stay here until our task is done." One might ask what was the "Destiny" which took the General and his country to the Islands, unless it was President McKinley, his advisers and associates? Furthermore, what is the task that the General is engaged upon, and when would it be finished, if finished at all? It is by such romantic mystic statements that the imperialists hide the real motives of Imperialism. Regarding the effect of these catchy phrases of Imperialism used by the interested groups in convincing their respective peoples of the necessity

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of Imperialism, Mr. Hobson says:[14]

"Ill-trained for the most part in psychology and history, these people believe that religion and other arts of civilization are portable commodities which it is our duty to convey to the backward nations, and that a certain amount of compulsion is justified in pressing their benefits upon people too ignorant at once to recognize them."

But if it is true that in spite of the fact that the vast majority of the people of every "advanced" nation are unfit for democracy, and yet in spite of this, democracy with all its faults is held to be the safest and best form of government for them in the long run; this principle is[15] equally true in the case of the so-called "backward peoples." And if it is true that it is dangerous to entrust the interests of the whole people to an aristocratic class, no matter how capable that class may be, it is equally true that to entrust the government and destinies of the non-white peoples to the white peoples who merely constitute a fraction of the human race - is dangerous to the former, and not in conformity with the best interests of the human race. And we may finally say, that "if it is true in America that people must be left to govern themselves irrespective of their capacity for the task, then it is also true in Europe, Asia and Africa. The world is not large enough to contain two moralities on a subject like this."[16] It

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14 Imperialism, p. 208.

15 That is the basic principle of democracy - consent of the governed - implied or potential.

16 Quoted in Gibbons, H.A.. The New Map of Asia, p. 2.

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is undoubtedly this hypocritical attitude on the part of the imperialists that is entirely responsible for the totally false impression created upon the mind of an average Oriental that Western civilization and hypocrisy are indissolubly associated together. And "it is precisely in this falsification of the real import of motives that the gravest vice and the most signal peril of Imperialism reside."[17]

There is also another respect in which Imperialism exerts a baneful influence upon national character, and that is in the development of racial arrogance and racial prejudice. This is the inevitable aftermath of all imperialist enterprises whether we take Rome or any one of the modern imperialistic peoples. In fact, it is against human nature to expect any other result. The racial arrogance and racial prejudice that have developed among the Anglo-Saxons to the highest pitch are largely to be explained by the fact that Anglo-Saxons have been more fortunate in building up empires than any other people. To explain racial hatred and racial prejudice on economic grounds as some writers have attempted to do, is wholly misleading, because how can one explain their existence on that basis in the case of British officials throughout those parts of the British Empire which are inhabited by non-white peoples? Furthermore, such a view is historically incorrect, because this racial prejudice and racial arrogance

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[17] Hobson, J.A. Imperialism, p. 209.

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on the part of the whites developed long before the two peoples came into any economic competition with one another. And it is a notorious fact, that these undesirable traits were taken to their homelands by colonial bureaucrats and military adventurers in the various outlying parts of the Empire. With all healthy public criticism at home removed, the colonial officials, especially when they meet weaker peoples, tend to disregard all moral restraints in their conduct toward the natives. Says Mr. Cobden:[18]

"It shocks me to think what fiendish atrocities may be committed by English arms, without raising any conscientious resistance at home, provided, they be far enough off and the victims too feeble to trouble us with their remonstrance or groans."

The latest "fiendish atrocities" committed by the British were during the martial law days in the Punjab (India) in 1919 when people were made to walk on their bellies, whipped severely in some cases and women dishonored.[19] A similar testimony, like that of Cobden, that we have quoted above, is furnished by a man (Dilke) who was a great admirer and protagonist of what he called the Saxon race. Writing about the English in India, this great English writer says:[20]

"There is only too much fear that the English unless held in check, exhibit a singularly strong disposition towards cruelty, wherever they have a weak enemy to meet....Even a traveler, indeed, becomes so soon used to see the natives

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18 Quoted in Hobhouse, L.T.

19 See Indian National Congress, Martial Law Enquiry Report.

20 Quoted in Bodelsen, C.A., op. cit., p. 71.

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wronged in every way, by people of quiet manner and apparent kindness of disposition, that he ceases to record the cases... I noticed in all the hotels in India, the significant notice, 'Gentlemen are earnestly requested not to strike the servants.' .....It is in India, when listening to a mess-table conversation on the subject of looting, that we begin to remember our descent from Scandinavian sea-king robbers."

The same desire to do away with ordinary morality is expressed by Kipling when he says:[21]

> "Ship me somewhere east of the Suez, where the best
> is like the worst,
> Where <u>there aren't no Ten Commandments an' a man
> can raise a thirst;</u>"

It is obvious that the development of such an attitude in the minds of a people engaged in imperialistic enterprises has a baneful moral effect on that people.

Sec. 4. Effects on International Relations.

The effects of Imperialism upon international relations are still more baneful. Of course, it is true that the causes of war are as numerous as human motives, but the importance of these motives in creating international difficulties is not the same. Undoubtedly the most important of these from this point of view, is Imperialism. That lust for territory has been the most important cause of war is a historical fact. The wars of Alexander, Cyrus the Great, Caesar, Charlemagne, Louis XIV and a host of other conquerers were due to this lust, is an established fact. In more recent times, the Franco-

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21 Collected Verse, Mandalay, p. 476.

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Prussian war, the Sino-Japanese War, Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War and the Great War, were all due primarily to this expansionist ambition. During the Great War, the motives of all the belligerants were not to be judged by their high-sounding phrases, but by the secret treaties in which they had tucked away their real motives and interests. These secret treaties revealed unadulterated Imperialism as the cause of the War. But besides actually causing international conflicts, Imperialism has been and is a potential cause of wars. It creates international suspicians, rivalries, militarism, and that reprehensible institution called the "balance of power" which has been the curse of Europe, since the beginning of modern times. Regarding the effect of Imperialism upon the Great War, Mr. Wells says:[22]

"When the passions of the conflict have faded, it will be Germany that will be the most blamed for bringing it about, and she will be blamed not because she was morally and intellectually very different from her neighbors, but because she had the common disease of imperialism in its most complete and energetic form."

About the same subject, Mr. C.J.H. Hayes says:[23]

"Anyone who is at all familiar with the arenas of friction, in Egypt, in China, in Siam, in the Sudan, in Morocco, in Persia, in the Ottoman Empire and in the Balkans would be in possession of a valuable clue to a significant cause of every war of the twentieth century, particularly to the chief cause of the Great War."

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22 Outline of History, p. 1031.

23 A Brief History of the World War, p. 2.

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We have already referred to the effect of war on home politics. Here we would confine ourselves to its economic effects. The economic disorganization caused by modern wars is far greater than it ever was, and is certain to increase in future. Modern wars exhaust the economic resources of nations in an extraordinarily short period, and if prolonged for any length of time may mean the economic ruin of the belligerants. The world war brought death to at least 10,000,000 men and it wounded 20,000,000 more. The number of the killed in the Great War was twice as many as was killed in all the other wars since the time of the French Revolution.[24] Mr. E.L. Bogart has estimated the Direct and Indirect costs of war. The direct costs, that is, the expenditures on ammunition and so forth, come to more than 186 billion dollars, while the indirect costs - the capitalized value of the lives lost and property destroyed - amount to about 151 billion dollars.[25] The total costs of the Great War therefore, about equalled the total national wealth of the United States, by far the richest country in the world. Says Dr. Buell:[26]

"When the armistice of 1918 was declared, the Ordnance Department of the United States Army was consuming every month labor and raw material equal to the cost of the Panama Canal - a total effort which was equivalent to rebuilding New York City once a year."

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24 Buell, R.L. International Relations, p. 476-477.

25 Ibid., p. 477.

26 Ibid., p. 477-478.

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With such testimony before us, we may verily say with Mr. Norman Angell, that the belief that war pays economically to any country, is a Great Illusion. Recognizing the peril of warfare that threatens the very existence of our civilization, thoughtful people have given considerable study to the solution of this problem. Now, there are two complementary and indissolubly separate ways of solving this problem. One is the elimination of the most important causes of friction, and the other is the evolving of an international machinery for the peaceful settlement of such questions as may from time to time arise between nations. While the people who have given some thought to the elimination of warfare have given great importance to the second point, they have generally failed to take into account the first point. But they must remember that, without the solution of the problem of Imperialism, the other part of their scheme is bound to fail, because nations with imperialist designs would never submit to any scheme of compulsory arbitration. Questions of Imperialism would be reserved from arbitration, as "questions of national honor" and these very questions would frequently be the cause of wars. Therefore, unless and until Imperialism is outlawed, war, its inevitable concomitant, can neither be abolished nor outlawed.

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Chapter IX.

Effects upon the Ruled

Sec. 1. Some Good Effects.

The effects of Imperialism upon the ruled we may roughly divide into good and bad. Undoubtedly one of these good effects has been the peace that the European nations have brought to the peoples that they have brought under their sway. In the case of Africa, they have stopped that devastating tribal warfare, which has led certain writers to declare that the distinguishing feature of ancient civilization was the dominance of war over all other human institutions.[1] But whatever may have been the effect of Imperialism on international relations, there is no doubt that one of its best redeeming features has been the establishment of peace in some of these weaker countries. However we must remember that the Imperialists with their customary exaggeration over-rate the value of peace that they have brought to the countries under their sway. Corresponding to this, they exaggerate the amount of anarchy that, before their advent, existed in some of these countries. For example, they would have us believe that before the British came to India, perfect anarchy ruled in that

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1 Ingram, A.: History of Political Economy, p. 9. Ingram declares that while the ancient civilization was organized for war, the modern civilization is organized for industry.

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country. But they forget - or prefer to forget - that under the Maurya, Gupta and the Moghul Empires (until it fell) the country enjoyed probably as much peace as any people in that period. There have been periods of disorder, no doubt, but where is an ancient country in the world, which has been entirely free of these disorders? However, in spite of the imperialist exaggeration, we shall grant that the establishment of internal peace in some of the weaker countries has been a substantial contribution of Imperialism.

Another good effect upon the natives, in some cases, has been the abolition of some cruel customs and practices that prevailed among them. The practice of human sacrifice, prevalent among several African tribes, is a case in point. However, in the case of Suttee[2] in India, too much credit has been asked by the British. It must be remembered that several Indian rulers had abolished this abominable custom, and consequently, it was fast dying out, when the band of Indian social reformers led by the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy, prevailed upon Lord Bentick, the then Governor General of India, to abolish it altogether. The native governments were already dealing with the problem, and there is no doubt that if they had continued a little longer, they would have taken effective measures in order to suppress it.

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[2] A custom by which widows voluntarily burnt themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands.

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Imperialism has also quickened the development of the idea of nationality, among the weaker peoples. Love of one's country is one of the noblest ideas in the world, provided it is not turned into a hatred of other countries. The lack of development of this sentiment had made these peoples a prey to the more compactly organized peoples of Europe. Therefore, inasmuch as it has made them better able to defend themselves against other aggressive nations, the development of the idea of nationality is to be welcomed. But even apart from that, nationalism has several cultural aspects that render its existence necessary and useful to human society. And even if we admit for the sake of argument that the development of this idea is a great evil, we must remember that it is a necessary evil, after all. Because this idea has already taken strong root amongst the peoples of the West, and its non-development in the case of other peoples has made them incoherent, and hence less able to resist the designs of the former.

And finally we may mention another good effect upon the subject peoples. This is the fact that by a rude impact, the ruled have been awakened from long slumber and brought into touch with the Western civilization which has valuable contributions to make to the uplift of these peoples. The East is losing somewhat of its traditional immobility and catching the dynamic energy of the West. The "static" East has become con-

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scious of its inherent weaknesses, and consequently, is attempting hard to remove them. The renaissance that is to be observed today in almost all the Oriental countries, is the outward expression of that realization.

Sec. 2. Some bad effects.

Besides other bad effects of Imperialism upon the ruled, that we have considered in Chapter VI, Sections 4th and 5th, we may note a few more. One of the most far reaching of these has been the fact that the supremacy of the white race has probably been made permanent, to the detriment of the non-white peoples. Of course, there have been several factors that have contributed toward that result, but there is no doubt that the white races have also used their political power toward that end. As a result of this, they are holding the non-white peoples, not only under their political but what is still more important, economic and intellectual bondage. And just as the political, economic and intellectual hegemony of any particular class in a nation is in the long run dangerous to her welfare, similarly any such monopoly held by a particular section of the human race is detrimental to the welfare of the human race as a whole. The conduct of the white peoples toward the non-whites is a standing proof of that contention. The existing disabilities upon the latter include such matters as Discrimination in matters of

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immigration into the vacant lands of the earth, discrimination in matters of legal rights and procedure[3] and economic disabilities such as we find in their worst form in the Union of South Africa.[4]

In the case of the more advanced peoples, such as the Indians, the effect of European domination on some native industries was disastrous. The splendid cotton industry of India, like the woolen industry of Ireland, was deliberately destroyed by the British. About the cotton industry of India, Mr. Baines says in his History of Cotton Manufacture:[5]

"Not more than a century ago, the cotton fabrics of India were so beautiful and cheap that nearly all the governments of Europe thought it necessary to prohibit or load them with heavy duties, to protect their own manufactures."

The oppression of the East India Company struck a deadly blow to this industry, and those wonderful Dacca muslins which were the marvel of the world, exist no more. Edmund Burke has thus described the oppression of the servants of the East India Company:[6]

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3 This exists in India and several other dependencies of the white nations.

4 In South Africa, the Union Government, besides having passed the Color Bar Bill which is chiefly aimed at the natives, has brought forward another bill popularly known as the Asiatic Bill, chiefly aimed at the Indians, the majority of whom were born in South Africa. For the main provisions of the Asiatic Bill see "The Indian Question" in Round Table of June, 1926.

5. Quoted in Lajpat Rai, England's Debt to India, p. 127.

6. Quoted in Reinsch, P.S., op. cit., p. 35.

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"Animated with all the avarice of age and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in, one after another, wave after wave; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and of passage, with appetites continuously renewing for a food that is continuously wasting; for the prey is lodged in England, and the cries of India are given to the seas and the winds."

As early as 1769, the directors of the Company formulated plans discouraging the manufacture of silk and cotton goods in India. While the Company and its servants carried on inland trade free of duty, their competitors, the Indian merchants, were obliged to pay all imposts in full.[7] Under stringent laws England prohibited the importation of machines and the introduction into India of artisans who could instruct people in the use of these machines. Even after 1813, when the East India Company was compelled to give up its monopoly, and the trade of India was thrown open to all, the restriction on the export of machinery and artisans was maintained in full force and thus were the poor and ignorant people of that country exposed to competition with a community possessed of machinery greatly more effective than their own. Says Dr. Bose:[8]

"While the Indians were thus being deprived of their right to use machinery, while their industries were being annihilated by monopoly and various other means of oppression, and while Englishmen were dumping their goods upon India with no import or with merely a nominal import duty, the export of Indian merchandise to England was prohibited by exorbitant tariffs."

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7 Bose, S. Some Aspects of British Rule in India.

8 Ibid. p. 59.

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Commenting on these facts, the English historian Wilson says:[9]

"This act of self-defense was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty; and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately to strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

But no less an authority than Fredrick List voices the same opinion. Says he:[10]

"Had they permitted the free importation into England of cotton and silk goods from the Indies, the manufacture of cotton and silk in England would have been destroyed at once. India had in her favor not only the low price of the raw material and cheaper labor, but also long practice and traditional dexterity or skill. Under the system of competition, the superiority was necessarily with India; but England was not willing to build up manufacturing establishments in Asia, to fall afterwards under their yoke."

The British government as a matter of fact, has followed this mercantilistic policy until our own time. The fiscal policy of India has always been moulded in the interests of the British manufacturers and in particular, the powerful cotton manufacturers of Lancashire. Says Lord Curzon:[11]

"I have always regarded the attitude of Lancashire toward India in respect to import duties on cotton and still more of the countervailing excise as an injustice and a wrong. (12).....When in India, as Viceroy, I more than once expressed myself in the same sense. On my return to England, I made a speech in the House of Lords on May 21, 1908, in the

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9 Quoted in Bose, S. op. cit., p. 60.

10 Quoted in Bose, S., op. cit., p. 61.

11 Quoted in Lajpat Rai, op. cit., p. 160.

12 It may be noted here that with regard to the value of exports, cotton industry is England's greatest industry and India is her greatest customer for cotton goods.

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course of which I said that the fiscal policy of India during the last forty or fifty years has been shaped far more in Manchester than in Calcutta. (13) In the speech at Manchester in 1910, I alluded to the same facts, namely, to the subordination of Indian fiscal policy to the Secretary of State and a House of Commons powerfully affected by Lancashire influence."

The fiscal policy of Britain towards India has been an important cause of her industrial backwardness,[14] and if the people of India were asked to point out one single thing that they wanted more than any other, they would unhesitatingly point to fiscal autonomy.

A closely allied economic effect upon the ruled, is the economic hardships that result from following a policy of the closed door. The subject peoples are generally very poor and this makes it still more important why they be allowed to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets. But as a result of the policy of the closed door that most colonial powers follow, the natural channels of trade in these weaker countries are tampered with, and the result is that the natives suffer economically both as consumers as well as producers.

It is also asserted that imperialists have in several

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13 Calcutta at that time was the capital of India.

14 Prof. P. Banerjea in his book Fiscal Policy in India, divides the fiscal history of India (under the British) into the following three periods: I. Period of East India Co. rule (roughly from 1754-1858). During this period, a protective policy in favor of Great Britain but against India was followed. II. 1858-1914. During this period principles of free trade were followed with the utmost rigor. III. 1914- It is a period of transition from absolute free trade to some form of protection.

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cases followed the policy of Divide et impera, in order to maintain their rule, and have thus prevented the development of that harmony amongst the subject peoples of these countries, which is the sine qua non of their political, social and economic development. The classic example of this in modern times is India. The notorious leniency with which the government deals with the offenders in the Hindu-Muslim riots, the part that several minor government officials take in exciting these disturbances, (probably with the connivance of the higher officials) the almost total absence of these riots in native states, the syncronization of the increase of these riots with the Non-cooperation Movement, give strong support to the contention, that the British in India have followed the historic policy of keeping the Hindus and Muslims apart. However, we are not prepared to say definitely, whether an "unseen hand" is working in India in order to keep the two communities apart, and all that we say here is, that such a conclusion is very probable from the above considerations. But besides these considerations, we have the testimony of some responsible English officials, which further strengthen the contention of those who assert the existence of the "unseen hand" behind these abominable fratricidal riots. After the "Mutiny of 1858," Lord Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay wrote in a minute dated 14th May, 1859 as follows: "'Divide et impera'

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was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours."[15] Lieutenant Colonel John Coke, holding the important office of Commandant of Moradahad wrote as follows:[16]

"Our endeavor should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, and not endeavor to amalgamate them. Divide et impera should be the principle of Indian government."

All of this is of peculiar importance when we remember that this policy of Divide et impera was the cardinal principle of the British Empire in India, when it was in the process of formation. No candid student of Indian history can deny this fact. Of course, it must be granted here, that without the pursuit of such a policy, the British could not have succeeded in carving out an Empire for themselves. But they have followed the same policy in Persia where until recently, they encouraged separatist tendencies in Southern Persia and that explains the anti-British attitude of Riza Khan, the present Shah of Persia. In Syria, the French have been following the same policy.[17]

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15 The Hindu-Muslim Problem, in Modern Review, May, 1926.

16 Ibid.

17 Trusteeship or Exploitation, by E.P. MacCallum and E.M. Earle, in Asia, September, 1926, p. 826.

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PART IV.

Chapter X. Conclusion

Sec. 1. The Revolt of the East against the West.

The present century has witnessed a pretest of the East against the domination of the West. The Great War has undoubtedly increased the vigor and extent of that protest. However, it must be remembered, that such a protest was already there before the Great War, and what the latter did was simply to give further stimulus to it. Such phrases as White Man's Burden are at present regarded in the East as perfect cant, designed to conceal the essentially selfish motives of the imperialist powers. Mr. Harrison expresses a faithful picture of the whole situation when he says:[1]

> "In no one of the long list of subjugated peoples from Tsingtau to Cairo had the white man won the confidence and loyalty of those upon whom he had imposed his rule."

The idea of nationality has become as strong or is fast becoming as strong among these weaker peoples as it was amongst the European nations in the nineteenth century. It can no longer be ignored among these peoples just as it could not be among the Europeans. Consequently, the time has come when the bartering of human beings should no longer be allowed. Realizing fully the difficulty of the extreme application of the

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[1] Cornerstone of Philippine Independence, p. 324.

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principle of self-determination, we are still in perfect accord with the general principle laid down by the English philosopher Mr. Bertrand Russell, that "There can be no good international system until the boundaries of states coincide as nearly as possible with the boundaries of nations."[2] The dreamers of a better world - a world in which cooperation rather than mutual destruction should be the guiding rule - will make a grave mistake of they unduly glorify the status quo.

Sec. 2. The only Justification of Imperialism.

We have seen that if the benefit of the governed were the real motive of Imperialism, it has failed altogether, since it has always regarded the interests of the ruler-nation as paramount; and as these interests have frequently been in conflict with the interests of the natives, the latter have quite frequently been ignored. Although sentimental, strategic and administrative reasons have all played some part in Imperialism, the main motives we have found to be economic. Out of these economic motives again, we have found finance to be the strongest. And even in the case of economic motives, it is not so much the gain of the average citizen as of certain economic classes, who use the patriotic instincts of common humanity for their own personal selfish interests. But if Imperialism is ever to be justified, the imperialists must estab-

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2 Political Ideals, p. 145.

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lish the following three propositions:

1. That Imperialism is beneficial to the weaker peoples.

2. That it is in the best interests of the world as a whole.

3. That it is beneficial to the nation undertaking it.

That Imperialism is not beneficial to the weaker peoples, has been amply demonstrated in Chapters VI and IX. Indeed, it is from this point of view that it has most signally failed. The answer to the second proposition is furnished by our remark, that the supremacy of any particular section of the human race is detrimental to the interests of the human race as a whole. But even if for the sake of argument we were to reject the validity of our remark, we must remember that of the interests of the world as a whole have ever been taken into account, the Imperialist nation concerned has in each case been the sole judge of such interests. The family of nations, which is the only proper authority to decide such a question, has never been asked to decide such points.[3] To maintain that each of the Imperialist Powers has, when embarking upon an imperialist enterprise considered the interests of the world as a whole, is simply to deny a self-evident fact. But the falsity of this proposition also follows from the first one: because, if we grant that Imperialism has not been beneficial

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[3] The League of Nations is far from performing such a function at the present time. It is really a League of Victors of the Great War, and is dominated by the powers directly interested in Imperialism.

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to the ruled nations, it also follows, that it is not in the best interests of the world as a whole, since these nations constitute by far the greater part of humanity. The various wars, that were caused by imperialist designs of various peoples and that have devastated humanity from time to time, are a conclusive proof of the fact, that Imperialism is not in the best interests of the world. That Imperialism is not beneficial to the Imperialist nation as a whole, we have amply demonstrated in Chapter V. Of course, certain classes, such as manufacturers, exporters and importers of colonial trade, shipping interests, investors and bankers, do derive benefit from Imperialism, but so far as the nation as a whole is concerned, the gain from this enterprise is very slight if any at all. But when against the slight gains of Imperialism, are set the staggering expenditures on armies and navies, Imperialist wars, the heavy burden of taxation borne by the citizens of these countries, and finally the effects of Imperialism upon these countries, Imperialism has a debit account to show. Mr. Hobson sums up the theory of Imperialism so well, that we cannot do better than to quote his words. Says he:[4]

"All the purer and more elevated adjuncts of Imperialism are kept to the fore by religious and philanthropic agencies; patriotism appeals to the general lust of power within a people by suggestions of nobler uses, adopting the forms of self-sacrifice to cover domination and the love of

[4] Imperialism. p. 209, 218, 390.

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adventure.....

Imperialism has been floated on a sea of vague, shifty, well sounding phrases which are seldom tested by close contact with fact.....

It is the besetting sin of all successful states, and its penalty is unalterable in the order of nature."

Sec. 3. Some Reformatory Proposals.

Recognizing the evils inherent in Imperialism, as it is constituted at the present time, some reformatory proposals have been made from time to time. We will give below a list of some of the more important of these proposals, but will discuss briefly the last two only. The list is as follows:[5]

1. Extension of publicity regarding colonial administration.

2. Special training for prospective colonial administrators.

3. Increased reliance on international intervention instead of national, for the purpose of suppressing disorders and protecting life and property in turbulent regions.

4. Complete substitution of international for national protection of life.

5. International rationing of raw materials.

6. Extension of the Open Door principle by negotiation and international agreements.

7. Extension of the Mandate system.

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[5] Taken with slight modifications from Moon, P.T. Syllabus on International Relations, p. 73.

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(a) To tropical colonies only.
(b) To all colonies.

8. Gradual transfer to the League of all colonies. The League itself to undertake the administration of these territories.

Now, all these proposals adopted wholly or partially would undoubtedly be a great improvement over the present colonial system. The first two proposals are primarily meant for the benefit of the natives and are designed to check the abuse of power by the colonial nations. The next two proposals are meant to prevent the abuse of the "right" possessed by a nation of protecting its citizens in a weak state. The next two are meant to lessen the economic motives for Imperialist enterprises. Now all the first six proposals have one thing in common and that is, that they keep intact the fundamental principle of present colonial system, which is, that each of the nations is solely responsible for the administration of its colonies. All colonial questions are therefore significantly called the "domestic" questions of the various powers.

Somewhat different however, are the last two proposals, because they recognize that the administration of the countries of the weaker peoples is a question which concerns the entire family of nations. In the case of proposal number seven, we may ask that if the mandate system is better than the national colonial system, why should it be confined to the

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tropical colonies? This principle ought to apply to all colonies, whether tropical or non-tropical. However, the present mandate system of the League of Nations, although an improvement over the old colonial system, is defective from the following points of view:

a.[6] The question of the distribution of mandatory authorities was treated by the Supreme Council of the Allies as one of a division of spoils with which no one was concerned but the victors. They were distributed in fact on the basis of the theory that they were territorial acquisitions in the interests of a mandatory power. Therefore, the League as a whole - that is the creator of the trust - had nothing to do with the selection of the trustees who were to administer that trust. The distribution of these mandates followed closely the secret treaties among the Allies - a fact which speaks ill of the sincerity of the League or at least of those members of the League who really control it.

b.[7] The provision for self-determination though present in the case of A Mandates, was totally ignored, while it was entirely lacking in the case of B and C Mandates.

c.[8] For the purpose of escaping from the control of the

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6 Olivier, S. Mandates under the League of Nations, in Marvin, W.R. Western Races and the World. p. 256.

7 Ibid, p. 253-255.

8 Ibid, p. 255.

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League, such large and populous territories as the Cameroons and Togoland which had hitherto quite conveniently been administered as separate states have been placed under mandates of Class C.

d.[9] The League as a whole was also ousted from the framing of the trust (terms of the various mandates) whose execution it was to supervise. The interested powers did the whole business.

e.[10] Loopholes exist in the terms of the several African mandates for such abuses as forced labor, land confiscation and the use of the natives for military purposes.

f. A far more important objection is the fact that the Council of the League - that is, the powers interested in the Mandates - really controls the little supervision that the League has over the administration of the mandates. To be sure, the Permanent Mandates Commission in its constitution has a majority of one, over the non-mandatory powers, but that after all is a merely advisory body to the Council, who can set aside its recommendations at any time. Furthermore, the Mandates Commission has very little initiative and independent powers of investigation.

g. Realizing fully the disadvantages of international administration, we still venture to assert that it would have

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9 Olivier, S. op. cit. p. 257.

10 Ibid. p. 258-259.

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been better if the League itself had undertaken the administration of these territories, instead of entrusting it to the interested powers. We may say without the least amount of exaggeration, that in spite of all its faults, international government is more likely to safeguard the interests of the natives than the national government of any single colonial power.

It is on this basis that the closely allied eighth proposal is based. The Leopoldian regime in Belgian Congo is not an instance of the failure of international government, because in both the International African Association and the International Association of the Congo, Leopold was the leading spirit. Furthermore, no kind of international control or government was ever set up over the so-called Independent State of the Congo. The sovereign of this "Independent" state was King Leopold and the whole control was in his autocratic hands. Even in the case of Khedival Egypt, international government was never really given a trial.[11] About the alleged failure of international government Mr. Woolf says:[12]

"And to those who sadly shake their heads over the terrible failures of international government in the New Hebrides and Samoa, it is fair to say: 'And what about national government in Africa?'"

"The truth is that international government of non-adult races has never been tried either in Africa or anywhere else, and has therefore never failed. It has never been tried, partly

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11 Woolf, L. Empire and Commerce in Africa, p. 304-312.

12 Ibid, p. 364-365.

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because people do not wish to try it - for it might succeed - and partly because those who do not wish it to be tried or to succeed, have induced the rest of the world to believe that it has been tried and failed."

We may therefore say, that the administration of the colonies by the League itself would have been better than entrusting it to the various powers. That international government is not an impossibility we have already seen. Furthermore, when international government has succeeded in such cases as the navigation of the Danube, the Postal and Telegraph Union, there is no reason why it should not succeed in the case of weaker peoples, provided the nations concerned make an honest effort in order to make it a success.

Sec. 4. The True Solution.

But partly on account of the defective constitution of the League of Nations, and partly on account of certain other defects inherent in the proposals that we have considered in the previous section, the writer is not in entire accord with these proposals, and consequently, offers his own suggestions for the solution of the problem of Imperialism.

First, independence (if they so desire), otherwise full self-government should be at once granted to those dependent countries, which are pronounced capable of undertaking such a task, by a truly international gathering. The Assembly of the League of Nations, with non-members added for the purpose, may be used as an international authority to decide such an im-

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portant question. Only such a body can take an impartial view of the whole question, and decide what are adult and non-adult peoples.

Secondly, there should take place complete displacement of national control over the remaining peoples, by international control, with the express declaration and proper safeguards provided for its execution, that the interests of the natives form the chief and first concern of such a government. We have already given reasons why the present Mandate System does not approach this ideal. Any truly international body provided for such a purpose, would be fit for carrying out such a task.

Thirdly, the problem of Economic Imperialism should be solved by increasing international cooperation. The way has already been opened for this, by gigantic industrial and banking corporations, whose ownership is by no means national. In fact, with the development of organic economic connection between the various nations, we are already set on the road to international cooperation. But it lies in our power to accelerate this process.

A critic, however, may call our proposals perfectly "Utopian," but an impartial observer can well see that there is nothing utopian about them. Of course, the colonial powers would fight these proposals with all their might - a fact

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sufficient to condemn the whole structure of Imperialism - but if a truly international body is the only true judge of the best interests of the world, then such a process must be followed, however injurious it may be to the vested interests of particular nations. This course alone, we may finally say, can substitute the principle of mutual cooperation for mutual destruction in the domain of international relations.

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